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from \$20 per month for second lieutenants, to \$30 a month for first lieutenants, \$40 a month for captains, and \$50 a month for majors. The House receded from this portion of the amendment.

2. The Senate amendment increased the pay of officers with over 2 years of service serving in grades from second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel.

(a) The House bill provided base pay for second lieutenants of \$280 a month with over 2 years of service; the Senate amendment provides \$300 a month for these officers.

First lieutenants with over 3 years of service received \$420 a month under the House bill and \$450 under the Senate amendment.

Captains with over 8 years of service received \$540 a month under the House bill and \$565 a month under the Senate amendment.

Majors with over 14 years of service received \$665 a month under the House bill, and \$830 per month under the Senate amendment.

(b) The Senate amendment continued the special pay scale for commissioned officers with over 4 years of prior service as enlisted personnel. The House bill deleted this special pay scale.

The increases for this group run from \$10 per month for second lieutenants with over 4 years of service, to \$20 per month under the Senate amendment for the captain with over 20 years of service.

(c) The Senate amendment added increases over those contained in the House bill, in the enlisted grades, for the E-4 with over 4 years of service (\$5 per month); E-5 with over 6 years of service (\$5 per month); E-6 with over 14 years of service (\$5 per month); and E-7s with over 14 years of service (\$5 per month). The House receded to the Senate increases over those contained in the House bill.

3. The Senate amendment provided an increase in special pay for physicians and dentists which was not contained in the House bill.

Under present law, physicians and dentists receive \$100 a month special pay upon entering the service.

Physicians and dentists who have completed at least 2 years, but less than 6 years of service, receive \$150 a month special pay.

Physicians and dentists with at least 6 but less than 10 years of service receive special pay of \$200 a month.

Physicians and dentists with 10 or more years of service receive \$250 a month special pay.

The Senate amendment raises special pay for physicians and dentists at the 6-year point from \$200 to \$250 a month; and from \$250 to \$350 at the 10-year point. The House receded.

4. The Senate amendment deleted all increases in subsistence allowances.

The House bill provided subsistence increases of \$3.12 per month for officers, and an average of a little under \$7 per month for enlisted personnel. The House receded.

5. The Senate amendment retains the hostile fire provision providing \$55 a month, but eliminated that portion of the House bill which made this provision retroactive to January 1, 1961. The House receded.

6. The Senate amendment retains sea pay now provided in law but provides that foreign duty pay will be permissive rather than mandatory.

The amendment gives the Secretary of Defense the authority to authorize this pay in locations outside the continental United States that he selects. The House receded.

7. The Senate amendment retained the house provision which provides for a family separation allowance of \$30 a month, but eliminated that portion which authorized officers to receive one-third of the basic allowance for an officer without dependents.

The House receded to that portion of the Senate amendment.

8. The Senate amendment added a provision which authorizes officers in the grade of major and above who are without dependents to elect not to occupy Government quarters even though they are available, and at the same time be eligible to receive their quarters allowances.

There was no comparable House provision. The House receded.

9. The Senate amendment deleted that portion of the House bill which would have made the new pay scales applicable to all persons who retire during calendar year 1963.

The Senate receded with an amendment to the effect that any person retiring between April 1, 1963, and before the effective date of the proposed legislation will be authorized to compute his retirement pay under the new pay scales. The language agreed to by the conferees is not intended as a precedent for future pay increases.

10. Under the House bill, persons retired prior to June 1, 1958, who are paid retired pay under the Career Compensation Act, would have been permitted to recompute their retirement pay under existing pay scales, and in addition receive a 5-percent increase.

Under the Senate amendment, these individuals will be entitled to recomputation under existing pay scales, or a 5-percent cost of living increase, based upon their present retirement pay, whichever is greater. The House receded.

11. The Senate amendment deleted that part of the House bill which would have authorized the Commandant of the Coast Guard to receive the basic pay provided for members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The House receded.

12. Under the House bill, permanent professors at the Military and Air Force Academies received two new basic pay increments after 31 and 36 years of service.

The House amendment provided monthly pay of \$1,165 for colonels with over 31 years of service (as opposed to a maximum of \$1,085 per month for all other colonels with over 26 years of service), and \$1,235 per month for permanent professors with over 36 years of service.

The Senate deleted these proposed increments for permanent professors.

The Senate receded with an amendment to the effect that permanent professors at the Military and Air Force Academies would be entitled to a supplemental pay increment of \$250 per month while serving as professors, after 36 years of service for pay purposes. Under this language permanent professors with 36 years of service or more will draw the basic pay of colonels with 30 or more years of service, but, in addition, will receive a pay supplement of \$250 a month while serving as permanent professors. Upon retirement, however, they will compute their retirement pay on the basis of colonels with 30 years or more of service.

13. The House bill repealed the authority to provide responsibility pay for certain officers.

The Senate amendment deleted the provision in the House bill which sought to repeal the authority to pay responsibility pay. The House receded.

14. The House bill contained a provision requiring 1 year of continuous active duty following recall of retired personnel in order to recompute under any higher rates which might be in effect at the time the individual is reretired.

The Senate amendment required that in order to recompute at the time on officer retires, he must serve at least 2 years continuously under the new higher rates following recall in order to recompute under any higher rates which may be in effect.

The Senate receded with an amendment to the effect that persons serving on active duty

on the effective date of the act may compute their retirement pay under the new pay scales if they have served 1 year or more of continuous active duty following recall, but persons recalled to active duty after the effective date of this act must serve on continuous active duty for 2 or more years following recall.

15. The House bill provided that the pay increase would become effective on October 1, 1963, or on the first day of the first month after enactment, whichever is later.

The Senate amendment provides that the pay increase will become effective on October 1, 1963. The House receded.

## COST

The House bill, involved an annual cost of \$1,222,345,000 for the Department of Defense. The original proposal submitted by the Department of Defense involved a contemplated expenditure of \$1,243,000,000.

The Senate amendment contemplated an annual expenditure of \$1,227,330,000, or \$4,985,000 more than the House-passed bill.

The conference report involves an annual estimated cost of \$1,213,000,000, or \$30,000,000 under the Department of Defense proposal, and \$892,500,000 for the remainder of fiscal year 1964, or \$7,500,000 under the President's budget.

L. MENDEL RIVERS,  
PHILIP J. PHILBIN,  
F. EDW. HEBERT,  
ARTHUR WINSTEAD,  
WALTER NORBLAD,  
WILLIAM BATES,  
WILLIAM G. BRAY,

*Managers on the Part of the House.*

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina, BASIL L. WHITENER, is attending the International Textile Exposition at Hanover, Germany, together with a large delegation of prominent North Carolina textile executives. He is for the passage of H.R. 8363 and has authorized me to say that if he had been here today he would have voted for it.

## ELECTION OF MEMBER TO A STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the minority leader [Mr. HALLECK], I send a privileged resolution to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved* That Richard S. Schweiker, of Pennsylvania, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the standing committee of the House of Representatives on Armed Services.

The resolution (H. Res. 534) was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## TO BIGOTRY NO SANCTION

(Mr. BARRY (at the request of Mr. BROMWELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill providing that the George Washington 5-cent stamp be redesigned to include the immortal words, "To Bigotry No Sanction."

Our first President, George Washington, used this phrase to express the fun-

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amental concept of religious freedom in America in a letter to the Jewish Congregation of Newport, R.I. His words were well chosen. In four words, he stated one of the great underlying principles of our Republic.

By enacting this legislation, the Congress can give the world a daily reminder of America's belief in religious and racial tolerance. The depraved bombing in Birmingham and religious persecution in South Vietnam call for new expression of our traditional belief in fair play for all.

Although atonement for the sad events in Birmingham and South Vietnam necessarily rests in the hands of the executive and judiciary, nevertheless Congress can at least give expression to the national ideal through adoption of this bill. Mottos reflect the aspirations of nations.

This bill is similar to one introduced by the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. ST. ONGE) who deserves credit for initiating this legislation in the House.

(Mr. WIDNALL (at the request of Mr. BROMWELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WIDNALL'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

#### ANTI-SEMITIC POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. DERWINSKI (at the request of Mr. BROMWELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, much is being said in a cleverly organized fashion concerning the East-West thaw and the validity of coexistence with the Soviet Union.

It is well for us to point out that despite the smiles, the objective of the Soviet Union as it directs the international Communist conspiracy is to deprive all the people of the world of their freedom.

To demonstrate the consistent Communist activity in this field, I submit for the Record an article which appeared in the September 24 edition of the New York Herald Tribune, dealing with the anti-Semitic policies of the Soviet Union.

As additional illustration, I place into the Record as part of my remarks a resolution passed at the Eighth National Convention of the Catholic League for Religious Assistance to Poland, which discusses the persecution of the Catholic religion by the Polish Communist Government.

These two items, Mr. Speaker, prove beyond all doubt that Communist policies remain unchanged, and that the present administration is moving in the direction of committing an even more tragic series of blunders than Chamberlain at Munich, Roosevelt at Yalta, and Truman at Potsdam:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 24, 1963]

#### A JEWISH LEADER'S PLEA

Dr. Israel Goldstein, honorary vice president of the World Jewish Congress, yesterday

appealed to leaders of the Soviet Union to repudiate "the anti-Semitic phases of the Stalin terror" against the 2.5 million Jews in Russia.

The World Congress leader, who has just returned from a 1-month tour of Russia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, spoke at the local offices of the organization, 15 East 84th Street.

He said he had found that Russian Jews did not share in "the liberalization policy initiated by Khrushchev" and unless this unequal treatment is corrected "public opinion will be driven to the conclusion that there is a calculated plan on the part of the regime to liquidate Judaism and Jewish culture. This would be cultural and spiritual genocide."

He asked that the Soviet regime permit Jewish congregations to establish a central Jewish religious address and to choose their own religious and lay leaders, with Jewish leaders being allowed to visit Jewish conferences abroad and Jewish leaders outside Russia permitted to visit religious conferences in the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Goldstein also sought permission to train more religious students in Moscow, and for a larger reprinting of the Jewish prayerbook. He asked for a cessation of arrests and imprisonment of those who bake and sell matzoth or unleavened bread, release of those already arrested, and creation of facilities to bake this bread for the coming Passover. He appealed for the right of Jews to have separate burial grounds, as in the old cemeteries.

He said that the Russian press treats the names of those arrested for economic crimes in a way that reflects unfairly on the Jewish minority, seeking to distort and exaggerate Jewish involvement in these crimes.

In a talk last night on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, Representative LEONARD A. FARBSTEIN, Democrat, of New York, revealed that he was visited last week by Anatoly G. Mishkov, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, in pursuit of "establishing better relations" with this country.

"I told him I certainly favored better relations but asked, 'Why do you permit these irritations?' and 'Why don't you tell your Government to stop this persecution of Jews?'" Mr. FARBSTEIN related to the Farband-Labor Zionist Order at its headquarters, 575 Sixth Avenue, that a blot is put on better relations as long as Americans hear reports of synagogue closings, the ban on the baking of matzoth (unleavened bread for Passover), the arrest and trial of Jews who baked matzoth on the charge of alleged black marketeering and the so-called economic trials of the last year and a half.

Mr. FARBSTEIN appealed to the fraternal organization to ask "all (Jewish) coreligionists to file a formal protest" with Soviet authorities against repressions directed against Soviet Jews.

DELEGATES TO THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE FOR RELIGIOUS ASSISTANCE TO POLAND, HELD IN GREEN BAY, WIS., ON AUGUST 6, 7, AND 8, 1963, UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS

1. With proper humility we profess our filial devotion to His Holiness Pope Paul VI, Christ's vicar on earth. We express our heartfelt gratitude for the paternal apostolic blessing which His Holiness imparted to all participating in the deliberations of this Eighth National Convention of the Catholic League for Religious Assistance to Poland.

2. To the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, we reaffirm our pledge of love and loyalty to this Nation and its Government. As citizens of this country, we remain ever mindful of the splendid means and freedom of opportunity this land affords us whereby we are enabled to assist those less fortunate than we.

3. To his excellency Archbishop Egidio

Vagnozzi, apostolic delegate to the United States, we express our deep appreciation for his sympathetic interest in the activities of the Catholic League for Religious Assistance to Poland.

4. To the Most Reverend William E. Cousins, archbishop of Milwaukee, we convey our thankfulness for welcoming this convention into his province, for gracing its opening with his presence, and for his words of encouragement.

5. To the Most Reverend Stanislaus V. Bona, bishop of Green Bay and beloved senior member of the Episcopal Committee of the Catholic League for Religious Assistance to Poland, we tender our affectionate gratitude for the time and guidance he unstintingly gave in making preparations for this convention, and for his being a perfect host.

Furthermore, on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his priesthood, and 30th anniversary of his Episcopacy, we humbly offer him our prayerful esteem, respect, and admiration. May God continue to bless and keep him in His loving care.

6. To the Most Reverend Stephen S. Woznicki, bishop of Saginaw, for the inspiring sermon he prepared for the solemn pontifical mass which opened this convention, we express our sincere praise and admiration, and as a token of our feelings we call upon the executive secretary to send an appropriate message, to be signed by all the delegates, expressing our prayerful wishes that God may quickly grant robust health to his excellency. Furthermore, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of his episcopacy, we extend our joyful felicitations and sincere wishes for God's bountiful blessings.

7. To the Episcopal Directors of the Catholic League for Religious Assistance to Poland; namely, the Most Reverend John J. Krol, archbishop of Philadelphia, and to the Most Reverend Bishops: Stanislaus V. Bona, Stephen S. Woznicki, Thomas L. Noa, Henry T. Klonowski, Roman T. Atkielski, Alexander M. Zaleski, and Aloysius J. Wycislo, we acknowledge our profound gratitude for the interest, solicitude, and devotion they manifest for the welfare of the Catholic League and the success of its undertakings.

8. We are also deeply grateful to the American hierarchy for its effective interest and sympathy with the activities of the Catholic League.

9. We acknowledge a tremendous debt of thanks to the Very Reverend Monsignor Alfred L. Abramowicz, the national executive secretary of the Catholic League, for his untiring and zealous performance of the duties of that office.

10. We are mindful of our increasing debt of gratitude to Mr. John F. Aszkier, the national president of the Catholic League, and Mrs. Catherine Bajek, vice president, for their many years of conscientious and self-sacrificing service rendered in their offices.

11. Finally, we express our appreciation to Rt. Rev. Monsignor Chester A. Ropella, general chairman of the pre-convention committee, and to all the members of that committee for expediting the planning and arrangements for this convention in a praiseworthy manner. We are sincerely grateful to the respective proper authorities for hospitably placing at our convenience the facilities at St. Francis Xavier Cathedral, St. Mary of the Angels Parish, and the Green Bay Register, the Franciscan Fathers of Pulaski, Wis.

12. Whereas in the practice of their Catholic religion, the faithful people of Poland continue to face tremendous obstacles in the form of insidious propaganda, numerous inane restrictions, artificially created shortages of supplies, and onerous taxation;

Whereas this relentless harassment of religion places the Catholic Church in Poland in an embarrassing position in which,

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through no fault of its own, it is unable to satisfy its many needs; and

Whereas charity—love of God and love of neighbor—is the very essence of Christianity, upon which our civilization must rest if it is to survive: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we reaffirm to the people of Poland our oneness with them in the Mystical Body of Christ and pledge to them our prayers and our substance in coming to their assistance so that they may with dignity exercise their Catholic faith.

13. Whereas the Catholic religion has been a mainspring of the Polish nation throughout its thousand-year history; and

Whereas today this same Catholic religion, the very lifeblood of the Polish nation, is endangered because it is not permitted to flourish free and unhampered: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we, in the name of the more than 6 million fellow citizens of Polish ancestry in the United States of America, call upon the Government of Poland—

1. To recognize and acknowledge the fact of history that Catholicism is an integral part of Polish culture and the wellspring of Poland's noblest deeds;

2. To guarantee complete religious freedom to the people of Poland.

Most Rev. Stanislaus V. Bona, D.D., Bishop of Green Bay; John F. Aszkier; Rev. Joseph Prusinski, C.R.; Mother Mary Benjamin, S.S.J.; Sister Mary Jolanta, C.S.S.F.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Peter P. Walkowiak; Rev. Theodore A. Zaremba, O.F.M.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward J. Smaza.

### THE THIRD LIBRARY OF CONGRESS BUILDING IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

(Mr. WIDNALL (at the request of Mr. BROMWELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I take occasion to call attention to an article published in the September 25, 1963, issue of Roll Call newspaper, Washington, D.C., entitled "Library, Monument, or Park?"

This article deals in considerable detail with the third Library of Congress Building, and the \$39 million memorial proposed to honor President James Madison.

The article follows:

#### LIBRARY, MONUMENT, OR PARK?

(By Oscar Johnson)

Congress has tackled some of the Nation's biggest problems during the past 9 months, but it still has not acted on the boondoggle in its own backyard—the proposed James Madison Memorial.

Somehow, propelled by powerful Capitol Hill interests, the much ballyhooed \$39 million project has risen to a position high on the priority list of construction. Yet just how it ever got on the list in the first place remains a mystery.

Presently, the memorial's chief claim to fame seems to be that it has effectively stalled progress on a much-needed third Library of Congress Building. Its proponents are determined that the memorial should be built on one site only—one which otherwise might serve for the Library addition.

The "Madison Men," as the influential memorial backers are becoming known on the Hill, apparently concede no possibility that the memory of the former President can be served in any way other than by erecting a tomb-like marble monument

squarely in the way of Library of Congress expansion.

The site in question, a huge tract bounded by Independence Avenue, and First, Second, and C Streets, SE., has already been bought and cleared at a cost of more than \$5 million. Situated adjacent to the Library of Congress and Cannon House Office Building, it is now devoted to the purpose of growing a fine crop of grass and weeds.

Meanwhile, the Madison Men are advocating condemnation and purchase of another site—located immediately east of the present Library of Congress Building and its annex—at a cost of \$5 million more. Through condemnation, the Government would uproot families and many restored homes in a thriving Capitol Hill neighborhood to get library space.

Led chiefly by Representative WILLIAM WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey, a movement has been initiated to block purchase of any more land and to build the library on the already-owned site, known as District of Columbia Square 732. It would be called the James Madison Memorial Library.

Reacting swiftly to this threat to their plans, the Madison men have thrown up counterarguments. In the resulting debate, little progress is being made on meeting the library space need which according to Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford, "becomes more critical with every passing day."

However, it is hard to fault Congress for failing to act when the staff experts—some of them are devoted Madison men—have allowed so much confusion. The experts include Mumford and Capitol Architect George Stewart.

As much as can be pieced together from the public record, the present impasse had its beginnings in May 1960, when the 86th Congress approved a study of LOC space needs with a view to designing a third building.

The Capitol Architect was directed to hire a team of outside architects to prepare preliminary plans and estimates of cost for the new facility. These were duly employed, and studies were started in April of the following year.

Shortly thereafter, according to Mumford, "there was a proposal that the James Madison Memorial, with subgrade (underground) vaults for the Library of Congress be constructed on Square 732." Accordingly, he adds, the architectural study "was redirected" toward splitting up the Library's planned new space between a third building and the Madison vaults.

By what authority this step was taken remains unclear from the disclosed record. Although the private James Madison Memorial Commission and the House Office Building Commission have endorsed legislation to build a memorial, it appears that the Madison men were successful in embarking on a course taking for granted that a Madison memorial would be built, without prior approval of Congress itself.

At any rate, having been directed to divide up the space, the outside architects came up with a proposed 13-level (4 underground) LOC Building to cost \$70 million and provide library space needs for 30 years. This would, of course, be contingent on construction of library vaults under the Madison monument, which would account for \$24 million of the monument's total \$39 million cost.

Thus, with the usual increases in actual costs over estimated costs of Capitol Hill construction, the Library's needs would be met for about \$100 million.

According to Librarian Mumford, the Library needs "nearly 2 million square feet of space, net." By happy "coincidence," the combined third building-memorial vault

project would provide "about 1,993,000 square feet."

A report prepared by Architect Stewart shows that the building itself would have a total gross area of 1,925,767 square feet, with a usable net of 1,519,660 square feet. The Madison vaults would have 554,000 square feet gross, but the report omits any reference to the usable area. Presumably, this would be about 377,000 square feet.

Nowhere in the public record is the possibility mentioned that the proposed LOC Building could be redesigned to provide 377,000 square feet of net additional space within itself. Since the study was redirected toward a split arrangement, it does not seem beyond the realm of plausibility that America has the architectural talents to accomplish a one-unit library for \$100 million—or less—if this is established as a goal.

Before Congress commits itself to spending \$100 million for library space, it would seem expedient to at least perform a cursory study of the single-building alternative. Mumford himself has said, "the ideal arrangement would be to have a single additional building of adequate size, because the more locations in which we have to operate the less economical and efficient the operation will be."

In a statement which seems to be the first crack in the previously solid Mumford-Stewart pro-Madison alignment, Mumford has gone on record as conditionally accepting WIDNALL's proposed idea.

"If it were possible to get all of the additional space needed by the Library east of our present annex, or on lot 732, I would consider either of these solutions ideal," Mumford says. This apparently relegates the Madison Memorial to the third-place priority.

However, Mumford says that "the proposed structure in square 732 would add (only) 1,386,000 square feet of net usable space." Whether that figure was drawn from the air or stems from an architectural study not yet made public remains unclear.

He adds that square 732 could accommodate a single Library building of adequate size "only if enlarged, for example, by extension to the south."

This seeming size disadvantage of square 732 is one of the most puzzling aspects of the whole controversy, in view of the fact that the eastern Library site favored by the Madison Men is reportedly smaller. This land now in private hands, is known as squares 787 and 788, bounded by Independence Avenue and 3d, 4th, and East Capitol Streets SE, and now divided by A Street SE which would be sealed off.

According to WIDNALL, square 732 has 258,038 square feet of space, 15 percent more than in the combined 787-8 plot. Since the smaller location was envisioned in 1960 as the prospective area for a then-proposed single building, it is mysterious how an even larger area has suddenly become "too small" for this approach. Mumford does not point out that 787-8 would be useful only if enlarged.

Although some of the Madison Men may retain an objective outlook on the various alternative solutions, others have gone out of their way to find objections to using 732 for a plain old library. Stewart has invoked everything from the seemingly sacrosanct 1861 study to the memory of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn in opposing the idea.

In addition, says Stewart, construction of a library on square 732 would bottle up the House of Representatives forever, although, apparently, a Madison Memorial would not.

WIDNALL says that when the condemnation of 732 was discussed before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on June 17, 1960, "such distinguished Democrats as the late Speaker Sam Rayburn, Clarence Cannon,



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Carl Vinson, and Subcommittee Chairman Albert Thomas gave every indication that this 5-acre plot would be the site of the third Library of Congress building. The Architect of the Capitol, J. George Stewart, told the subcommittee this 5-acre plot would be an ideal location for the Library.

And so the confused situation goes. The Joint Library Committee is reportedly sitting tight to see whether the House Public Works Committee does anything about WIDNALL's Madison Library bill, H.R. 7391, or the Senate acts on a companion measure of Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat of Illinois, S. 1920.

Meanwhile, the space situation grows more acute. Former President Madison, a man of action, would probably moan in his grave.

## SOVIET CROP FAILURE SOUNDS PHONY

(Mr. FINDLEY (at the request of Mr. BROMWELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the widely discussed crop failure in Russia has a phony ring and may actually be a trumped-up sympathy ploy for expanded trade with the United States.

Khrushchev may figure the best way to get the United States to trade with the Communists is by taking advantage of the deep American sympathy for hungry people. U.S. grain bins are overflowing, so a Soviet food shortage is a natural story for the Communists to circulate.

Whether the crop failure is genuine or phony, we should look all the way down the road before we expand trade with the Communists. If we accept the premise that we should sell wheat to Russia, the same premise is apt to lead to other trade. Once trade is firmly established with the Soviets, why not Red China and Cuba?

In fact, if we sell wheat to Russia, we can be sure some of it will wind up in Cuba.

Badly as we need to unload surplus grain for hard cash, we had better think carefully about doing business with Khrushchev.

We were hungry for foreign markets back in 1941—so hungry, in fact, that we sold scrap iron to Japan just before Pearl Harbor.

There is more than meets the eye in the big wheat deal, and before we go for a wheat-baited Russian beartrap we had better get the facts. We could be helping Khrushchev bury us using our own spade.

The crop failure sounds phony, because it was not noticed nor mentioned until after the world-record Canadian wheat deal with Russia was announced.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman made no mention of a crop failure until after the deal was announced, despite the fact that he and an entourage of agriculture department specialists had recently made an intensive month-long tour of Russia and other Communist countries.

Only blind bridles could have kept them from observing a crop failure if it actually had occurred.

In a September 21 speech, Freeman told of his group's 18-day, 6,000-mile study of Soviet agriculture, including

hundreds of miles over bumpy roads. The only Western newsman to accompany Freeman was Charles W. Bailey, of the Minneapolis Tribune. In his seven-article series, Bailey mentioned production problems of Soviet agriculture, but gave no hint that this year was one of crop failure.

Since announcement of the so-called crop failure and the wheat deal, stories are circulating that Freeman was excluded from certain areas in Russia. Neither Bailey nor Freeman gave any hint of this exclusion in their post-trip reports.

In fact, Freeman was quoted after his tour as saying that Soviet total production has raised considerably. They have the ability to feed their people.

Even if he had been kept from certain areas, it is incredible that the Communists could have successfully concealed a crop failure.

(Mr. SKUBITZ (at the request of Mr. BROMWELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. SKUBITZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

## BRACEROS

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. HAGAN of Georgia) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, that accident out in California last week generated a little curiosity about Public Law 78. One of the consequences was that the news services sent out some stories on braceros.

One Associated Press story explains:

Braceros, like the 28 killed in a Salinas bus crash Tuesday, are venturesome farm laborers who come from Mexico to earn what they consider to be a small fortune at back-breaking stoop labor.

They earn from \$1 an hour to as high as \$2.50 at piece labor.

Almost everybody likes these quiet, usually gentle folk. The farmers, because they pose no union problem. The police, because they are no police problem. The underworld, because they are easy victims of strong-arm robberies, camp burglaries or swindling salesmen. The shopkeepers, because they go on payday spending sprees—usually on clothes and radios—before visiting the post office to send money home.

Mr. Speaker, that last item is fairly revealing, and shows clearly why the bracero program is such a beautiful thing. The braceros are no problem to anybody. They keep quiet, because they know better than to complain. No union organizer can touch them, so you can be sure that they will never ask for higher wages. They are easy prey for the unscrupulous and the criminals.

About the only thing that can beat braceros for tractable, cheap labor would be slaves, or maybe robots.

(Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina (at the request of Mr. HAGAN of Georgia) was given permission to extend his remarks

at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina's remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

## RESEARCH PROJECTS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRAY] is recognized for 10 minutes.

(Mr. BRAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, America's increasing interest in the importance of research is being used as an excuse by certain free-spending, visionary Government bureaucrats to foist their hare-brained projects on the American taxpayer.

Congress has become aware that the magic word "research" is being used as a pretext to squander our national resources and wealth. Just a few days ago this House authorized a special study of multitudinous research projects being supported by the Federal Government.

I want at this time to bring to the attention of the House a very recent project planned by the Child Research Branch of the National Institutes of Health.

Today they are opening bids for leasing to the Government certain buildings to be built or altered to meet the specifications of the Child Research Bureau. The announced general purpose of this building is research in the development of children, which sounds like a worthy project. However, I heard weird stories about this project.

In studying a copy of the invitation to bid—No. GS-PBS-02-589—I found that the buildings are to be located within a 3-mile radius of the National Institutes of Health, in Bethesda, Md.

While the announced use for the building is the study of the development of children, allow me to read from the invitation to bid on this project as to some of the uses to which the building is to be placed:

The research subjects are volunteer families residing in Montgomery County who are either newlyweds planning to remain locally, or couples with one or more infants or pre-school children. Emphasis is placed upon accurate sound recording and direct visual observations through one-way screens, and by means of movies or television cameras to permit detailed and reliable data. Because generally the newlywed couples both work during the day, most study sessions involving husband and wife are scheduled at night or on weekends.

Some areas of the building (such as the family observation facilities) will be used to foster interaction and give-and-take between members of the family.

On page 12 we find:

Each family living unit (apartment) shall have a separate private entrance enabling the family to come and go and maintain some sense of isolation from the scientific program.

I have serious doubts as to the great value of having "Doctor Peek-A-Boo" observing the newlyweds in their home through the one-way mirrors similar to



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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No. 153

## Senate

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Spirit, Thou hast written Thy law in our hearts. In the brooding silence of this still moment, may open windows of faith flood our gloom with light, so that in Thy sunshine's blaze our day may brighter, fairer, be.

Dowered with privileges as no other nation, may the richness of our heritage be to us Thy call to clear the way for freedom, that through the potent ministry of our dear land, all the people of the earth may be blessed.

In the global decisions now facing the Republic, make us sensitive to any subtle attempts to lure us by promises of a false peace, and thus to compromise principle and betray the rights that are given by Thee to every individual on the face of the earth.

Amid all life's changes we ask "Thou who changeth not" to abide with us now and forever. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. SMATHERS, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, September 24, 1963, was dispensed with.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

### LIMITATION OF STATEMENTS DURING MORNING HOUR

On request of Mr. SMATHERS, and by unanimous consent, statements during the morning were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

### COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. SMATHERS, and by unanimous consent, the Permanent Sub-

committee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

### EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Dwight J. Porter, of Nebraska, a Foreign Service officer of class I, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Abraham L. Marovitz, of Illinois, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Illinois.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Walter E. Craig, of Arizona, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Arizona.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

### SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Thomas James Donegan, of New York, to be a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board for the term expiring April 9, 1967.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

### FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Edward D. Re, of New York, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the term of 3 years from October 22, 1963.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

### RESOLUTIONS OF MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and my colleague, the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], I present two resolutions of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, which I ask to have printed in the Record and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolutions were received, appropriately referred, and, under the rule, ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

September 25

To the Committee on Commerce:

**"RESOLUTION URGING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION TO EXTEND THE PRESENT TERRITORIAL LIMITS"**

"Whereas the presence of some 200 Russian fishing boats operating as close as 4 miles from our shores poses a serious threat to the commercial fishing industry of Massachusetts and this country; and

"Whereas the historic fishing grounds of our fishing fleets are being depleted at an alarming rate by the great invasion of foreign fishing fleets, total food fish landings having dropped 13 million pounds in New England so far this year; and

"Whereas the economic welfare of the coastal communities of our Commonwealth and their citizens depends upon the sea to produce sufficient quantities of fish and the loss of our domestic fishing industry would have a crippling effect on the economy of our State; and

"Whereas this situation with all its attendant problems is of vital and primary concern not only to Massachusetts, but to the New England States and to the United States: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to take appropriate action to extend the territorial limits in regard to fishing rights from the present 3-mile limit to one of 200 miles; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Presiding Officer of each branch of Congress, and to each Member thereof from this Commonwealth.

"Adopted by the house of representatives September 17, 1963.

"WILLIAM C. MATERS,

"Clerk.

"Attest:

"KEVIN H. WHITE,

"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

Ordered to lie on the table:

**"RESOLUTION URGING THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES TO RATIFY THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY"**

"Whereas Under Secretary of State W. Averill Harriman, the U.S. representative at the recent test ban talks in Moscow, successfully negotiated with the representatives of Great Britain and the Soviet Union a nuclear test ban treaty; and

"Whereas this treaty was formalized and concluded under the supervision of the Secretary of State Dean Rusk; and

"Whereas this nuclear test ban treaty is of vital importance and significance to the future peace and well-being of the entire world; and

"Whereas the Senate of the United States is currently debating the ratification of said treaty; and

"Whereas it is most urgent that the Senate unequivocally ratify said treaty without crippling amendments so as to present to the world at large a unified front: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives respectfully urges the Senate of the United States to ratify the nuclear test ban treaty as aforesaid; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the Presiding Officer of the Senate and to each Member thereof from this Commonwealth.

"Adopted by the house of representatives September 12, 1963.

"WILLIAM C. MATERS,

"Clerk.

"Attest:

"KEVIN H. WHITE,

"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

**BILLS INTRODUCED**

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 2174. A bill for the relief of Joseph H. Lym, doing business as Lym Engineering Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COTTON:

S. 2175. A bill for the relief of Nicholas Skafidas and Michael Skafidas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. NEUBERGER:

S. 2176. A bill to extend Federal meat inspection and to permit cooperation with State meat inspection services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mrs. NEUBERGER when she introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. INOUE:

S. 2177. A bill for the relief of Rosauro L. Lindogan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDMONDSON (for himself and Mr. MONRONEY):

S. 2178. A bill to provide that the United States shall hold certain Chilocco Indian School lands at Chilocco, Okla., in trust for the Cherokee Nation upon payment by the Cherokee Nation of \$3.75 per acre to the Federal Government; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. JAVITS, and Mr. KEATING):

S. 2179. A bill to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Touro Synagogue; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. PELL when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BUBLE, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. COOPER, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina, Mr. KEATING, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCEE, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MORTON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SIMPSON, and Mr. YARBOROUGH):

S. 2180. A bill to amend title VII of the Public Health Service Act so as to extend to qualified schools of optometry and students of optometry those provisions thereof relating to student loan programs; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HARTKE (for himself, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mrs. SMITH, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. MORSE, Mr. CLARK, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. INOUE, Mr. BAYH, Mr. EASTLAND, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. BREWSTER):

S. 2181. A bill to amend titles X and XVI of the Social Security Act to improve the

programs of aid to the blind so that they will more effectively encourage and assist blind individuals to achieve rehabilitation and restoration to a normal, full, and fruitful life; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARTKE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

**RESOLUTIONS****INVESTIGATION OF ISSUANCE OF PHOSPHATE PROSPECTING PERMITS**

Mr. MOSS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 203); which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, shall conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the manner in which the Department of the Interior is administering the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the issuance of prospecting permits for phosphate in lands belonging to the United States", approved March 18, 1960 (74 Stat. 7), in order to determine if the intent of the Congress in enacting such Act is being carried out.

**CONDEMNATION OF PERSECUTION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF PERSONS BECAUSE OF THEIR RELIGION**

Mr. RIBICOFF (for himself and Senators ALLOTT, ANDERSON, BARTLETT, BAYH, BEALL, BOGGS, BREWSTER, BURDICK, CANNON, CASE, CHURCH, CLARK, COOPER, COTTON, DODD, DOMINIC, DOUGLAS, EDMONDSON, GOLDWATER, GRUENING, HART, HARTKE, HOLLAND, HUMPHREY, INOUE, JACKSON, JAVITS, JORDAN (Idaho), KEATING, KENNEDY, KUCHEL, LAUSCHE, MAGNUSON, MCCARTHY, MCGOVERN, MCINTYRE, McNAMARA, METCALF, MONRONEY, MORSE, MORTON, MOSS, MUNDT, NELSON, NEUBERGER, PASTORE, PELL, PROXMIRE, RANDOLPH, SALTONSTALL, SCOTT, SIMPSON, SMATHERS, SYMINGTON, THURMOND, TOWER, WALTERS, WILLIAMS (New Jersey), YARBOROUGH, and YOUNG (Ohio), submitted a resolution (S. Res. 204) condemning persecution by the Soviet Union of persons because of their religion, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. RIBICOFF, which appears under a separate heading.)

**CLOSING THE GAP IN MEAT INSPECTION**

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, some 18 months ago, President Kennedy asked the Congress to extend meat inspection protection for American consumers beyond its present scope. The President's consumer message clearly spelled out the need to provide inspection for the 18 percent of red meat which is now consumed without inspection for wholesomeness and cleanliness by the Federal Government.



Then, too, the rehabilitative services provided for in the welfare amendments, they are to have value in the lives of needy people, must be provided to them on a group or categorical basis.

The problems, the needs, the difficulties of blind people are different from those of elderly people; and the needs, problems, and difficulties of the totally and permanently disabled are different and distinct from the other two adult aged groups.

Rehabilitative services for each group must be designed and administered with this fact in mind.

Rehabilitative services are intended to help disabled people help themselves—to help them reconstruct shattered lives. Such services will only serve this fine purpose when they are oriented and directed to meet group needs, are directed toward group problems—problems which are shared by the blind—but not by the aged or the disabled; problems which are held in common by the elderly, or which are unique to the disabled and unknown to the blind and the aged.

Therefore, I am proposing that "services" in public welfare be categorically provided.

Section 10 would provide for an increase in the matching of State funds by the Federal Government whereby the Federal Government would pay six-sevenths—\$42.85—of the first \$50 of the average payment of aid to the blind, and from 50 percent to 75 percent—in accordance with the variable grant formula—of the difference between \$50 and \$100.

Mr. President, according to the March issue of HEW's publication, the Social Security Bulletin, the average amount of cash aid received by nearly 100,000 needy blind persons last November was \$70.84.

Although the average money payment was higher than this figure in some States, it was substantially lower in many States.

As you know, Mr. President, the recipient of aid to the blind cannot buy his food and clothing in special stores having special prices—prices geared to his very low monthly aid grant.

Nor are rents less or utility costs lower because a blind person is in need and must live on public assistance.

The fact of the matter is, Mr. President, that the barest minimum standards of decency and health cannot be maintained on the monthly grants of aid received by the blind in many of our States.

A change in the amount of the Federal share in blind-aid payments is very much needed, an increase in the Federal financial contribution in such payments is urgently necessary.

I am, therefore, proposing such a change, that the level of aid income to the needy blind may be raised, allowing these people the chance to live—not luxuriously, but with a greater degree of adequacy.

Section 11 would provide that any increase in Federal funds, made available by Congress to raise the amounts of the aid grants of needy blind persons be given to the States only upon the condition

that the States will pass on the additional funds to the aid recipients without diminishing the State or local government's share in such public assistance payments.

When the public welfare bill, H.R. 10606, was being considered in executive sessions of the Finance Committee, I offered an amendment requiring that the additional Federal money—\$5 per month per recipient—provided for in the bill to increase the aid grants of needy blind persons, be passed on to the recipients by the States, without a lessening of the State's share in such payments.

The committee and I were assured by HEW officials that this pass-on requirement was unnecessary—that the States would surely pass on the increase to their needy citizens.

Since the passage of the welfare measure, the record shows that few States have carried out the very specific direction of Congress—contained in the House and Senate committee reports—that the additional Federal share in aid payments was intended to go to the recipients, was intended to increase by \$5 the monthly aid allowances of needy people, and should be passed on by the States to them.

Nor is this the first time that the wish, intention, and direction of Congress has been disregarded in the matter of the States passing on increased Federal aid funds to recipients of public assistance.

Too often this has occurred over the years—the States have used money intended by Congress to increase payments to the needy for other purposes, or have passed on the additional Federal money only to reduce by the same amount their own contribution to such payments.

The proposal I am offering would make sure that Federal money in the federally supported State aid-to-the-blind programs is actually given to the needy, is actually received by them in their monthly aid grants.

Section 12 would prohibit the imposition of any residence requirement as a condition for receiving aid-to-the-blind payments.

I believe that blind persons on the aid rolls who possess the ability to earn their own living should not only be encouraged to do so, they should be helped to do so by every means possible.

Laws which hinder or block the efforts of these people to reach the goal of economic independence, I believe, should be either repealed or prohibited. Such laws are State residence laws which require that a blind person must live a specified period of time in a State in order to qualify for aid-to-the-blind payments.

Needing the whole Nation, the whole range of economic activities throughout the Nation available to him—that he may find his place, may find work commensurate with his training and skills—a blind person even though he is a public assistance recipient, and because he is a public assistance recipient, must be free to search for employment anywhere in the country, and he will be helped in his searching by being able to obtain public assistance in the new State where

he is seeking work until a job is finally found, until earnings start coming in.

State residence laws prevent such freedom of movement. They deny to the blind aid recipient the opportunity to go where he believes work can be found and secured. Such laws condemn him to a static existence in a State where his kind of work is just not available.

In conclusion, Mr. President, it is essential that each of the proposals contained in my blind-aid amending bill be adopted by Congress if the many capable, employable blind people on relief are to be helped to achieve rehabilitation; if they are to gain release from a lifetime of economic and social captivity.

Each of my proposals is designed to remove from the public assistance programs for the blind the punitive aspects of such programs, they are designed to make of these programs a bridge to rehabilitation, a means and a way of achieving, ultimately, self-support for thousands of sightless men and women.

I urge the acceptance of all of my proposals to improve public aid for the blind that the public aid provided may offer more than subsistence and survival; rather, that such public aid may offer adequate income with dignity, public support without penalties.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be held at the desk for 3 days for additional cosponsors.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will lie on the desk as requested.

The bill (S. 2181) to amend titles X and XVI of the Social Security Act to improve the programs of aid to the blind so that they will more effectively encourage and assist blind individuals to achieve rehabilitation and restoration to a normal, full, and fruitful life, introduced by Mr. HARTKE (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I should like to command the able Senator from Indiana for the introduction of this bill and the delivery of the message in conjunction with it. It has been my privilege to serve with the Senator from Indiana on the Finance Committee, the taxation committee of the Senate, for many years. I must state that throughout that period of time he has been most diligent in his efforts not only to protect but to improve the rights and privileges of the aged and the halt, and the blind particularly. I hope he will get the recognition which he so richly deserves for this vigilance, which he maintains continually. I wish to commend him for his efforts along this line. If there is any way the junior Senator from Florida can be of assistance to him in this most worthy project, I shall be most pleased to do so.

Mr. HARTKE. I thank the Senator from Florida. I will say that serving on the Finance Committee I have had a most able, qualified, and considerate tutor in the distinguished Senator from Florida.

Mr. SMATHERS. The Senator is very generous, far beyond what I deserve.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

September 25

SOVIET PERSECUTION OF JEWS  
AND OTHER PERSONS

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, today—the day after the U.S. Senate gave its advice and consent to the limited nuclear test ban treaty—the world looks with renewed strength and spirit toward the prospect of peace.

It looks with renewed strength and spirit toward the day when all men will enjoy the basic freedoms.

Yet even today, as we look and work toward this goal, freedom of religion is trampled by one of the principal parties to a treaty that has given new hope to the world.

In the Soviet Union the free exercise of religion in any meaningful sense has been denied to everyone. All religions exist precariously, to say the least, in an officially antireligious atmosphere. But in a variety of fundamental ways, Judaism is subject to unique discrimination. Today the chief victims of religious persecution are the Jews.

The proposed execution of a Jewish rabbi for an alleged economic crime is only the latest in a long series of acts that provide us with tragic and abundant evidence of outright persecution.

Soviet law makes anti-Semitism a crime in Russia. Yet in Russia the Jew is branded as a Jew. On his domestic passport is stamped the word "Jewish" that identifies his nationality.

But while he has a nationality and secondarily, in Russia a religion, he has none of the rights of other nationalities and cultural groups. His ways of worship are severely limited. His synagogues are shut down, he is denied burial in the consecrated ground of Jewish cemeteries.

Other religious groups are allowed publishing facilities, central governing bodies, and religious objects. But the Jew has no religious articles—like the prayer shawl or phylacteries. He is permitted no publication facilities and no publications. No Hebrew Bible has been published for Jews since 1917. The study of Hebrew has been outlawed, even for religious purposes. He has no central organization or nationwide federation as do other major faiths. So he has no voice or way of bolstering and serving his faith.

There is one synagogue and one rabbi in the Soviet Union for each 15,000 or 16,000 Jewish believers. And though one yeshiva—or rabbinical academy—was established in 1957, it has been transformed by restrictions into an empty shell. This year there were only four students left. Obviously, there will be no way of replacing the rabbis now serving Jews in Russia—and most of them are in their seventies or eighties.

There are 3 million Russian Jews. And if they are not being slaughtered in mass pogroms, as they once were in Russia, and as they were in the ovens of the Nazi concentration camps, they are being slowly strangled. They are enjoying none of the gradually increasing freedoms of the Soviet society.

Chairman Khrushchev has labeled reports of anti-Jewish persecution as "a profound delusion." But is it a delusion when in the last 2 years at least 83 Jews

have been executed out of a total of 140 people condemned for alleged economic offenses? Is it a delusion when reputable reporters tell us of arrests, trials, and executions—of mass trials in many cities that have been markedly anti-Jewish? Is it a delusion when kosher butcher shops are closed and elderly Jews are put in prison for baking matzoth or unleavened bread in their own homes and selling it for the Passover holidays?

To put an end to the special qualities of the Jew—to stymie him if he seeks expression of his religious faith—to bully him and harass him until he gives up the religious heritage of the centuries—these are the ends officially sought by the Government of the Soviet Union.

The facts are most clearly stated in a scholarly article by Moshe Decter published in the distinguished quarterly review *Foreign Affairs* this past January, which I shall ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the *Record* at the conclusion of my remarks. The Jews are the only nationality deprived of the basic cultural rights accorded to all others in the U.S.S.R.

The Jew has no Jewish books or periodical. He has no theater, though the Yiddish theater was once considered a matter of Soviet pride. He is villified in the rigidly controlled Soviet press; anti-Jewish sentiments and stereotypes are built up, especially in the provincial press.

Most importantly, perhaps, he is cut off from the outside world. He has been warned: "Beware of foreigners." And of course, he cannot emigrate—cannot leave to seek his freedom elsewhere.

It is time that the free peoples of the world expressed their conscience about the persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union. It is time we in the Senate speak up—on behalf of the free peoples of the United States.

The world has learned from bitter experience of the dangers of persecution of the Jews. We have learned that it is a symptom of a greater sickness. A symptom, though it hurts the sufferer, is not felt by others until the sickness spreads.

Let us try to curb this sickness before it spreads. Let us join together to demand that the Soviet Union curb her persecution of the Jews.

Let us say to her:

If the world is to have new hope, if the cold war is to ease, let the first thaw occur in the icy indifference you have shown to the plaintive cries of those within your borders who seek an end to religious persecution.

Mr. President, I therefore submit, for appropriate reference, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that Soviet persecution of Jews and all other persons be condemned. I submit this resolution for Senators ALLOTT, ANDERSON, BARTLETT, BAYH, BEALL, BOGGS, BREWSTER, BURDICK, CANNON, CASE, CHURCH, CLARK, COOPER, COTTON, DODD, DOMINICK, DOUGLAS, EDMONDSON, GOLDWATER, GRUENING, HART, HARTKE, HOLLAND, HUMPHREY, INOUE, JACKSON, JAVITS, JORDAN of Idaho, KEATING, KENNEDY, KUCHEL, LAUSCHE, MAGNUSON, MCCARTHY, MCGOVERN, MCINTYRE, MCNAMARA, METCALF, MONRONEY, MORSE,

MORTON, MOSS, MUNDT, NELSON, NEUBERGER, PASTORE, PELL, PROXMIER, RANDOLPH, SALTONSTALL, SCOTT, SIMPSON, SMATHERS, SYMINGTON, THURMOND, TOWER, WALTERS, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, YARBOROUGH, and YOUNG of Ohio, and myself. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed at this point in the *Record*, that it remain on the table for 10 days, and that there be printed in the *Record*, at this point an article from the January, 1963, issue of *Foreign Affairs*, entitled "The Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union" by Moshe Decter and an article from the June 16, 1962, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, entitled "The Kremlin's Persecution of Jews" by Rowland Evans, Jr.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution will lie on the table, as requested, and be printed in the *Record*, along with the articles mentioned.

The resolution (S. Res. 204) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

Whereas the Senate of the United States deeply believes in freedom of religion for all people and is opposed to infringement of this freedom anywhere in the world; and

Whereas abundant evidence has made clear that the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting Jewish citizens by singling them out for extreme punishment for alleged economic offenses, by confiscating synagogues, by closing Jewish cemeteries, by arresting rabbis and lay religious leaders, by curtailing religious observances, by discriminating against Jews in cultural activities and access to higher education, by imposing restrictions that prevent the reuniting of Jews with their families in other lands, and by other acts that oppress Jews in the free exercise of their faith; and

Whereas the Soviet Union has a clear opportunity to match the words of its constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion with specific actions so that the world may know whether there is genuine hope for a new day of better understanding among all people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate, That it is the sense of the Senate that persecution of any persons because of their religion by the Soviet Union be condemned, and that the Soviet Union in the name of decency and humanity cease executing persons for alleged economic offenses, and fully permit the free exercise of religion and the pursuit of culture by Jews and all others within its borders.

The articles presented by Mr. RIBICOFF are as follows:

[From *Foreign Affairs* magazine, January 1963]

THE STATUS OF THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION  
(By Moshe Decter)

During the past quarter-century, enlightened public opinion throughout the world has become keenly sensitive to the treatment of minorities as a barometer of moral decency and social sanity. The awesome experiences of this period have drawn particular attention to the symbolic and actual position of the Jewish minority. In this light, the status of the Jews in the Soviet Union warrants special concern.

The situation of Soviet Jews can be comprehended primarily within the framework of Soviet nationalities policy. That policy, as reflected in Communist Party directives, the Soviet Constitution, and public law, is based on the ideological acceptance of the concept of national self-determination and on the legal recognition of the right of all nationalities within Soviet borders to cultural free-



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dom. Actual Soviet policy toward the Jews clearly violates these principles. It is tantamount to a policy of discrimination, for it denies to the Jews such ethnic-cultural rights as are generally accorded all other Soviet nationalities.

The Soviet Union officially recognizes Jews as a nationality. In the personal identification papers which all Soviet citizens carry (the internal passport), Jews must list their nationality as "Jewish" (Yevrei) just as other nationalities—such as Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, and others—must list theirs. Thus, in the official Soviet census returns of 1959, published in *Pravda* on February 4, 1960, Jews are listed among the official nationalities. In all previous censuses, citizens were required to provide proof, in the form of their internal passport, of their claim to belong to one or another nationality. In 1959, for the first time, they were allowed to volunteer, without proof, the nationality with which they chose to be identified. Despite the possibility thus provided for Jews to pass, 2,268,000 people specified their nationality as Jewish (there are reason to believe that the total number more closely approximates 3 million).

Soviet Jews constitute 1.09 percent of the population, but they occupy a far more significant place than this figure suggests. Of the considerably more than 100 diverse Soviet nationalities, the Jews are 11th numerically. The great majority of them live in the three most populous Union Republics: 38 percent in the Russian Republic, 37 percent in the Ukraine, 7 percent in White Russia; but there is no republic of the U.S.S.R. where Jewish communities may not be found. And an important reflection of their sense of identification after several decades of direct and indirect forcible assimilation is that 472,000 (20.8 percent) gave Yiddish, which is the traditional language of speech and literature of East European Jews, as their mother tongue.

The Jews are also regarded, secondarily, as a religious group. This complicates their status and makes it even more precarious. For though their unique dual character is a natural outgrowth of Jewish history and tradition, it creates unusual difficulties for them under Soviet conditions. An assault upon the Jewish religion, for example, will inevitably be taken, by Jews and non-Jews alike, as an attack upon the Jewish nationality as a whole—upon Jews as such. And they have come increasingly to be considered an alien group in a land where they have resided for more than a thousand years.

Their vulnerability is increased by the fact that, unlike most other Soviet nationalities, which have their own geographic territories, the Jews are widely dispersed throughout the country. They are also the only Soviet nationality a majority of whose total world population lives outside the U.S.S.R. Because the Soviet Jewish minority has historic and traditional ties of culture, religion and family with Jewish communities throughout the world outside the Communist bloc, it is subject to even greater suspicion.

Soviet Jews are especially sensitive to their vulnerable condition because their memory of what they themselves call the "black years"—the last 5 years of Stalin's rule, when his terror assumed a viciously and openly anti-Semitic form—has not been erased. One reason they have not forgotten is that Soviet policy toward Jews and Judaism has remained essentially the same since 1948—with the vitally important exception, of course, that the terror is gone. And they are not less keenly cognizant of the fact that, of all the crimes of Stalin cataloged by Premier Khrushchev and his colleagues at the 20th and 22d Congresses of the C.P.S.U., his crimes against the Jews were passed over in utter silence.

The significance of Soviet policy toward the Jews was dramatically highlighted in

September 1961 by the publication of a poem, "Babi Yar," in the *Literary Gazette*, organ of the Soviet Writers Union. This poem by a loyal Communist, Yevgeny Yevtushenko—one of the most popular young Soviet poets—caused a sensation. It is a searing indictment of the anti-Semitism both historically and as a facet of contemporary Soviet society. In his opening line, the poet protests that there is still no monument to the scores of thousands of Jewish martyrs slaughtered by the Nazis in 1941 at Babi Yar, a vale on the outskirts of Kiev. This is a pointed reflection of the fact that Soviet authorities have been consistently silent about the nature, dimensions and even the very existence of the unique Jewish tragedy during the Second World War. Though not himself a Jew, Yevtushenko identifies himself in his poem with persecuted Jewry throughout history. He thus points up the existence of a historic Jewish people, which Soviet doctrine denies—and of Jewish history, which Soviet policy prevents Jews from learning.

Yevtushenko is not alone in mirroring the mood and sensibility of the literate younger Soviet generation. There is a whole underground literature that passes from hand to hand among the university and literary youth, and one of its frequent leitmotifs is isolated, disadvantaged Soviet Jewry. In this, as in their general quest for a purified idealism, Yevtushenko and his confreres are in the main stream of the honorable tradition of the liberal Russian intelligentsia from Pushkin to Tolstoy and Gorky.

## II

The Jews are the only nationality which is deprived of the basic cultural rights accorded to all others in the U.S.S.R. These rights have recently been reaffirmed by no less an authoritative source than the new party program adopted by the 22d Congress in October 1961: "The Communist Party guarantees the complete freedom of each citizen of the U.S.S.R. to speak and to rear and educate his children in any language—ruling out all privileges, restrictions or compulsion in the use of this or that language."

Until 1948 the Jews were permitted a cultural life in their own language, Yiddish (though Hebrew was forbidden), on a large scale: newspapers, publishing houses, thousands of books, a variety of literary journals, professional repertory theaters and dramatic schools, literary and cultural research institutes, a network of schools, and other means of perpetuating Jewish cultural values, albeit in a Communist form. In 1948 (and in some cases during the purges of 1937-39), the whole vast array of institutions was forcibly closed.

No basic change in this policy of cultural deprivation occurred, despite Stalin's death and the gradual easing of the tyranny, until 1959. Since then, a grand total of six Yiddish books has been published—by writers long dead. (None has been published in 1962 as of November.) They were put out in editions of 30,000 each, mostly for foreign consumption, but those copies that were available to Jews inside the U.S.S.R. were eagerly and quickly snapped up.

This total of six books is to be compared with the facilities made available to many ethnic groups far smaller than that of the Soviet Jews, and which do not possess as ancient, continuous and rich a culture. Two striking examples are in order. The Maris and Yakuts are two tiny primitive Asian groups which number 504,000 and 236,000 respectively. In 1961 alone, Soviet printing presses produced 62 books for the Maris and 144 for the Yakuts, in their own languages.

The Soviet Yiddish theater was once considered one of the prides of Soviet artistic achievement. Today there is only a handful of amateur theatrical groups, made up of Jewish workers banded together after work-

ing hours, existing on a marginal basis; there is not even such a group in Moscow or Leningrad, the two major centers of Soviet Jewry, together totaling nearly 1 million.

In the autumn of 1961, for the first time since 1948, a Yiddish literary journal, *Sovietish Heimland*, began publication as a bimonthly. Welcome though this is, it is no more than the exception proving the rule. But it does represent, along with the meager half-dozen Yiddish books (and the concerts of Yiddish dramatic readings and folk songs which have been permitted and which have been attended by millions of Jews in recent years) a tacit repudiation of the oft-repeated Soviet assertion that Soviet Jews have lost interest in their culture. This state of affairs is again to be contrasted with the press available to the Maris and Yakuts. The former have 17 newspapers, the latter 28.

A frequent Soviet rationalization for the absence of cultural institutions for the Jews is that the Jews are so widely dispersed. This is invalidated, however, by the fact that tiny minorities like the Chechens (418,000), Ossetians (410,000) and Komis (431,000), which do not have their own territories yet have their own newspapers and literatures in their own languages, and schools where their languages are taught. The Tadjik minority in Uzbekistan (312,000 out of a total Republic population of 8,106,000) has similar rights and institutions, as have the Poles in White Russia (539,000 out of 8,055,000).

It is not just schools that are forbidden to the Jews.<sup>1</sup> They are not even allowed classes in Yiddish or Hebrew in the general schools; nor for that matter, classes in the Russian language (comparable to Sunday School education in the United States) on Jewish history and culture. Nor are Soviet Jews permitted to have contact on purely Jewish cultural matters with Jewish institutions abroad.

## III

All religions in the U.S.S.R. exist very precariously within a context of official antireligious ideology and propaganda. In a variety of fundamental respects, however, Judaism is subjected to unique discrimination. Jewish congregations are permitted no variant of the right enjoyed by the others to maintain nationwide federations or other central organizations through which religious functions are governed, religious needs serviced, religious belief bolstered and communication between congregations strengthened. Rabbis and synagogue leaders have nothing at all comparable to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, the National Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenian Church, the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia or the Moslem Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

These churches are permitted a wide range of religious publishing facilities, publishing houses and paper supplies. Thus, the Russian Orthodox version of the Bible was reprinted in 1957 in an edition of 50,000. In 1958, 10,000 copies of a Russian-language Protestant Bible were published by the Baptists. The same year the Moslem Directorates in Ufa and Tashkent produced editions of 4,000 and 5,000 copies, respectively, of the Koran. And in May 1962 the Moslem Board for Central Asia issued still another new edition. It should be noted that these editions of the Koran are in Arabic, a language not spoken by Soviet Moslems, but used for religious study and other religious functions. This is comparable to what the status of Hebrew might be there.

<sup>1</sup> Though Soviet law permits any 10 parents who request it to organize instruction for their children in their own language, Jewish parents have been understandably loath to take advantage of this provision.

Judaism is permitted no publication facilities and no publications. No Hebrew Bible has been published for Jews since 1917. (Nor has a Russian translation of the Jewish version of the Old Testament been allowed.) The study of Hebrew has been outlawed, even for religious purposes. Not a single Jewish religious book of any other kind has appeared in print since the early 1920s. In contrast, prayerbooks are available to the other denominations in relatively ample supply: the Baptists were authorized in 1956 to publish 25,000 hymnals; the Lutheran Church of Latvia has produced 1,500 copies of a psalter and is now preparing a new edition of its 1954 hymnal. Religious calendars, indispensable guides for religious holidays and observances, are freely available. Other types of religious publications are also permitted. The Russian Orthodox Church publishes the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, its official monthly organ. It has also published collections of sermons and several annuals. The All-Union Council of Baptists puts out a bimonthly, the *Fraternal Review*.

No such prerogatives have been vouchsafed to the Jews. Until 1958, no siddur (Sabbath prayerbook in Hebrew) was printed. In that year, an edition of 3,000 copies of a pre-Revolutionary siddur was provided by photo-offset—a ridiculously small figure for the hundreds of thousands of religious Jews whose prayerbooks are tattered and worn. No edition at all has been allowed of special prayerbooks which Jews use on their High Holidays and major festivals. As for calendars, the Jews have had to depend on photographed copies of handwritten ones, surreptitiously circulated from hand to hand.

A subtler but harsher form of discrimination has resulted from the ban on Hebrew. The Russian Orthodox, Baptist, Lutheran, Georgian or Armenian believer is not handicapped in his participation in religious services, for they are conducted in his native spoken tongue. But the half-century-old ban on Hebrew has made it impossible for Jews educated under the Soviet régime to make sense of their synagogue services. Thousands come—and must stand mute and dumb.

The other major ecclesiastical bodies are authorized to produce a variety of religious articles—ritual objects such as church vessels, vestments, candles, beads, crucifixes, and ikons. The mass sale of such articles, especially candles, is an important source of church income. But the production of such indispensable religious objects as the tallis (prayer shawl) and tefillin (phylacteries) is prohibited to Jews.

A brief statistical examination illuminates the extent to which the faithful are served by churches and priests, synagogues and rabbis. For the 40 million Russian Orthodox there are some 20,000 churches and 35,000 priests (quite apart from those in the 69 monasteries and convents). This comes to 1 place of worship for each 2,000 believers and 1 priest for each 1,100 believers. For the 3 million Baptists (including women and children who are affiliated through family membership) there are roughly 6,000 parishes and pastors, which amounts to 1 place of worship and 1 minister for each 500 believers. The Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia have 100 churches and 150 pastors for about 350,000 communicants—approximately 1 church for each 3,500 believers and 1 minister for each 2,300. By contrast, there are some 60 or 70 synagogues and rabbis for the nearly 1 million Jewish believers—which amounts to 1 synagogue and 1 rabbi for each 15,000 to 16,000 Jewish believers.

Most religious groups also maintain educational institutions to prepare men for the priesthood. The Russian Orthodox have two academies and five seminaries; the Moslems have a madrasa where their mullahs are trained. In addition, quite a few Moslem clerical students have been permitted to advance their studies at the theological semi-

nary in Cairo. Young Baptist seminarians have attended theological schools in Great Britain and Canada. Such programs serve the twofold function of maintaining spiritual contacts with coreligionists abroad and of enhancing the quality of religious education at home.

Until 1957, religious Jews had no institution to train rabbis. In that year, a yeshiva (rabbinical academy) was established as an adjunct of the Great Synagogue in Moscow. Since then, precisely two men have been ordained as rabbis, neither of whom has functioned as a synagogue leader. Of the 13 students at the yeshiva until April 1962, 11 were over 40—which means that very little provision was made for replacing the rabbis now serving in the U.S.S.R., all of whom are in their seventies and eighties. This is to be contrasted with the accent on youth for Russian Orthodox seminarians. The Jewish community is thus being deprived of needed religious leadership.

A most serious restriction was imposed on the yeshiva in April 1962, when a majority of the students, who came from the oriental Jewish communities of Georgia and Daghestan, were forbidden to resume their studies in Moscow, on the ground that they lacked the necessary residence permits for the capital city which is suffering from a housing shortage. This left just four students in an institution that has been transformed into a virtually empty shell. Nor has any Jewish seminarian in the last 5 years been allowed to advance his studies at institutions of Jewish learning abroad.

In addition to their prerogatives at home, other Soviet ecclesiastical bodies have enjoyed the privilege of regular and permanent ties with coreligionists abroad, an incalculably important boost to their morale. Since 1958 there have been innumerable exchange visits of religious delegations—Russian Orthodox, Baptists and Moslems—between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe, the United States and the Middle East. The Soviet Moslems have for years been associated with a World Congress of Moslems. At the end of October 1962 a national conference of Moslem leaders, meeting in Tashkent was authorized to establish a permanent department for international relations, with headquarters in Moscow, which would speak for all Moslem Boards in the country. And within the past year, the World Council of Churches (Protestant) accepted the full-fledged membership of the Russian Orthodox Church and of five other major Soviet ecclesiastical bodies: the Georgian and Armenian Churches, the Baptists, and the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia.

No Jewish religious delegation from the U.S.S.R. has ever been permitted to visit religious institutions abroad. Nor are synagogues in the Soviet Union allowed to have any kind of official contact, permanent ties or institutional relations with Jewish religious, congregational or rabbinic bodies outside their country.

The process of attrition and pressure against Judaism and Jewish religious institutions and practitioners has been systematically stepped up since the middle of 1961. In June and July of that year, the synagogue presidents in six major provincial cities were deposed. In the same period six lay religious leaders in Moscow and Leningrad were secretly arrested. In September 1961, on the occasion of the Jewish High Holy Days, the authorities ordered the construction of a special loge in the Moscow Great Synagogue to seat the Israel Embassy officials who came to attend services—the better to cut off the thousands of Jews who came to the synagogue from their fellow Jews from abroad. In October 1961, the Moscow and Leningrad leaders were secretly tried and convicted of alleged espionage, and sentenced to lengthy prison terms. In January 1962, Trud, the central trade union paper, published a noto-

rious article that portrayed these devout religious Jews as agents of Israel spies who, in turn, were described as tools of American intelligence.

On March 17, 1962, Rabbi Judah Leib Levin of the Moscow synagogue announced that the public baking and sale of matzah (the unleavened bread indispensable to the observance of the Passover) would be forbidden. This was the first time in Soviet history that a total ban on matzah was enforced throughout the country. The ban was actually part of the larger official attempt to destroy the bonds between Soviet Jewry and the traditional roots of Judaism that have a national historical significance. Since Passover is the ancient feast that commemorates the liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery and their establishment as a religious people, this holiday is subjected to especially virulent assault in the Soviet press. It is linked with "Zionist ideology," the State of Israel, chauvinism and so forth. The propaganda goes so far as to brand Jewish religious holidays, and Passover in particular, as subversive. "Judaism kills love for the Soviet motherland"—this is a slogan from a typical press article.

All this adds up to a systematic policy of attrition against religious Jews and their religious practices. The synagogues are the only remaining institutions in the U.S.S.R. which still embody the residues of traditional Jewish values and where Jews may still foregather formally as Jews. The objective of this policy is clearly to intimidate and atomize Soviet Jewry, to isolate it both from its past and from its brethren in other parts of the world, to destroy its specifically Jewish spirit.

#### IV

This policy of cultural and religious repression is conducted within the charged atmosphere of a virulent press campaign against Judaism. From it the image of the Jew emerges in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. The majority of the articles appear in the provincial press—in the larger cities, frequently the capitals, of the various republics, primarily the Russian Republic, the Ukraine and White Russia. These are the regions where the bulk of Soviet Jewry lives and where popular anti-Semitism is still widespread and endemic.

A study of a dozen such publications reveals that the following themes recur repeatedly:

1. The stereotype that emerges most blatantly is that of Jews as money worshippers. Rabbis and lay leaders of the synagogues are consistently portrayed as extorting money from the faithful for ostensibly religious purposes, their object in fact being to feather their own nests. Thus, whether it is the religious service itself or some ancient rite, it is all presided over by religious figures who are "in reality" money-grubbing thieves.

2. Judaism is constantly denigrated. All its rites are mocked in a manner which contrasts harshly with the Soviet Union's boasts of religious toleration. Circumcision, for example, is denounced in the crudest terms as a barbarous and unhealthful ritual: "The priests of the synagogue offer the regular sacrifice to their God Jehovah."

3. Drunkenness in the synagogue is another favorite theme. The scandalous rogues who pocket the money innocently contributed by the believers are shown as devoted to drink—guzzlers who confuse their prayers under the influence of alcohol. The leader of a synagogue burial society is quoted as saying: "In booze—I believe; in God—I don't."

4. Brawling is alleged to occur frequently in the synagogue, invariably over the division of the ill-gotten profits from religious speculation. The newspapers "name the names" of the religious "misleaders" allegedly involved and frequently give their addresses and public positions, if any.

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5. In these articles Jews often are used to inform on fellow Jews and to denounce Judaism. Many articles are signed by Jews; some contain recantations, usually by elderly men, of their religious faith.

6. A favorite device is for the writer to single out for special attention the adult children of elderly religious Jews. They are usually named and their public positions (teacher, engineer, nurse, etc.) noted, as well as their places of work and, where relevant, their party membership. Thus not only the parents but the presumably loyal, non-religious Communist children are held up to public obloquy, in a not very subtle effort to exert social blackmail on them.

7. Propaganda assaults on private prayer meetings are also frequent. Since many synagogues throughout the country are closed, Jews have taken to foregathering in each other's homes for prayers. Such gatherings are frowned upon, indeed unauthorized, and have regularly been dispersed, and their members warned and even punished. Articles list those who organize and attend such prayer meetings.

8. Perhaps the most ominous of all the themes is the consistent portrayal of the tenets and practitioners of traditional Judaism as potentially or actually subversive. The following references are typical: "The Jewish clericals and bourgeois nationalists provide grist for the mills of our class enemies, distract workers from their class and Communist interests, and weaken their consciousness with chauvinist poison." "The traditions bolstered by the synagogue are doubly harmful. First of all, they contribute to the perpetuation of the false religious world outlook. Secondly, they serve as an instrument for the propagation of bourgeois political views which are alien to us."

This must be contrasted with the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, signed by Premier Khrushchev on November 10, 1954, and re-echoed in Pravda on August 21, 1959: "It must not be forgotten that there are citizens who, though actively participating in the country's life and faithfully fulfilling their civic duty, still remain under the influence of various religious beliefs. Toward these the party has already demanded, and will always demand, a careful, considerate attitude. It is especially rapid to put these under political suspicion because of their religious convictions."

These standards have been clearly violated where Jews and Judaism are concerned. In the Soviet Union official atheism affects all religious groups; but it is only with regard to Jews and Judaism that the theme of lack of patriotism, disloyalty and subversion is injected into the propaganda. When the religion of the Russian Orthodox, the Armenian Orthodox, the Georgian Orthodox, the Baptist or the Moslem is attacked in the press he does not thereby come under political suspicion, nor does he feel his loyalty impugned either as a member of a given nationality or as a Soviet citizen. By the same token, the mass of non-believing Russians, Armenians, Georgians or Uzbeks do not feel that they are involved when the religious members of their nationality see their religion attacked in the official propaganda. But with the Jews it is different. Because of the persistence of "popular" anti-Semitism, subtly encouraged from above, an attack upon the religious Jew and the "trayal" of the Jewish image in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes is felt even by the religious Jew as somehow involving him. And he is not far wrong in feeling that any of his non-Jewish neighbors understand it in the same way. Small wonder, then, that—in the absence of a consistent national campaign against anti-Semitism, as was conducted in Lenin's time—an assault upon the Jewish religion will be met, by Jews and non-Jews alike, as an assault upon the entire Jewish group.

In such an atmosphere, it is hardly surprising that Jews should be subject to a subtle policy of discrimination in employment, education and other sectors of public life. That policy may be summarized in the phrase attributed, perhaps apocryphally but nonetheless aptly, to a top-level Soviet leader: "Don't hire, don't fire, don't promote."

A few especially gifted or brilliant Jewish individuals can still be found within the Soviet leadership. Many occupy positions in the middle ranks of professional, cultural, and economic life. But virtually all face potent discriminatory measures in key security-sensitive areas of public life. The instrumentality for this exclusion, carried out quietly and informally, is the nationality listing on the internal passport. Thus, Jews have virtually disappeared from positions of major responsibility in the diplomatic service and, with rare exceptions, in the armed forces. This contrasts sharply with the situation that prevailed from 1917 to the late 1930's. The proportion in higher education, science, the professions and political life has also been declining for many years. The key to the decrease is the system of nationality quotas in university admissions. A considerable body of evidence points to the existence of a numerus clausus for Jews in the universities and, in some cases, of a numerus nullus. This explains the decline of Jewish representation in important activities.

The extent of the decline in higher education is reflected in the fact that Jews today represent 3.1 percent of all students in higher education, as contrasted with 13.5 percent in 1935. During this 27-year period, the Jewish proportion of the population decreased merely from 1.6 to 1.1 percent. There is no way of accounting for this drastic decline in a country with an expanding economy and growing opportunities—except by discrimination.

Even the present 3.1 percent is a skewed figure, for it fails to take account of two decisive factors. In the first place, the category "higher education," as given in Soviet statistics, lumps together both universities and many other types of specialized academies such as teacher training schools, music conservatories, and journalism institutes. Jews have a strong position in the latter types, and this fact artificially raises the total by balancing out the much lower proportion of Jews in the universities as such. Secondly, it is estimated that 90 percent of Soviet Jews are urbanized. Most universities are located in the larger cities and recruit their student bodies from the children of the urban intelligentsia, in which the Jews have traditionally occupied a leading position. To get a more accurate measure of Jewish representation in higher education in proportion to the population, the Jewish proportion would have to be compared not with the percentage of Jews in the total population of a given republic, but with the percentage of Jews in an urban university area.

As for the professions, the declining proportion of Jews has been as much as admitted by Premier Khrushchev and Culture Minister Furtseva themselves as a matter of policy. (In making such admissions, they have referred to the necessity of making room for "our own intelligentsia"—clearly giving away their feeling that the Jews are not truly indigenous.) In general, the proportion of non-Jewish nationalities among professionals has been rising at a very rapid rate, but that of the Jews at a much slower rate. For example, since 1955 the number of Russians and Ukrainians in science has increased by 40 percent, that of the Jews by 25 percent. In 1955, Jews constituted 11 percent of Soviet scientists; the figure was 10.2 percent by 1958 and 9.8 percent by 1960. Even this figure is deceptively high, for it

includes a substantial number of an older generation who had far freer access to the universities and the professions in the 1920's and 1930's. It is obviously the Jewish youth who are hardest hit by the declining race; they have to be very good indeed even to get into the universities, and they find it increasingly difficult to enter the professions.

The disappearance of Jews from leadership positions in political life has been striking and dramatic. Soviet spokesmen have tried to counter this fact by noting recently that 7,623 Jews were elected to local soviets all over the country. This seems impressive until it is realized that, as of 1960, more than 1,800,000 such local deputies were elected. The "large" number of Jews thus comes to less than one-half of 1 percent. Moreover, in all but one of the Supreme Soviets of the 15 republics, the number of Jews is far below their proportion of the population.

When this pattern of discrimination is linked to other facets of Soviet policy toward the Jews, it becomes clear that they are considered a security risk group—suspected of actual or potential disloyalty, of essential alienness.

VI

Many nuances of the same pattern of hostility have been revealed in the massive campaign waged with increasing severity in the past few years against the widespread economic abuses that characterize so much of Soviet life. A series of decrees, beginning in May 1961, called for capital punishment for such offenses as embezzlement of state property, currency speculation and bribery. The authorities have made no attempt to conceal their concern over these activities or the fact that vast numbers of the population engage in them. Major pronouncements by leading officials have, indeed, given a picture of a country shot through with corruption—ironically, of a "capitalist" sort. All organs of the party, the Komsomol, the state, the press and other major institutions have been pressed into service in the campaign against it. The secret police, one of the last strongholds of Stalinism, plays a key role. And the public at large has been strenuously urged on to be vigilant, with all the overtones of vigilantism.

Though the campaign's objective may not be anti-Jewish, there is little doubt that it has had anti-Jewish implications and consequences, of which the authorities—and the secret police—cannot but be aware.

Thus the Soviet press has especially featured those trials that have resulted in death sentences (frequently accompanied by the denial of the right of appeal). To date, 36 such trials have been reported in 26 different cities. In these trials, death sentences have been meted out to 70 individuals—of whom 45 (and possibly 45) are Jews. In a number of cases, the Jewish religious affiliation of some of the culprits was made explicit: the synagogue was portrayed as the locus of illegal transactions, religious Jews were mockingly described as money worshipers, the rabbi was shown as their accomplice, their family connections in Israel and the United States were pointed up. In general, the Jews are presented as people "whose only God is gold," who flit through the interstices of the economy, cunningly manipulate naive non-Jewish officials, prey upon honest Soviet workers and cheat them of their patrimony. They are portrayed as the initiators and masterminds of the criminal plots; the non-Jews are depicted primarily as the recipients of bribes and as accomplices.

The ominous significance of this publicity is clear. It informs the conditioned Soviet reader that the government thinks the tiny community of Jews, which constitutes little more than 1 percent of the population, is responsible for nearly two-thirds—and in some areas 100 percent—of the economic crimes that warrant capital punishment.



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Anti-Semitic feelings are exacerbated. From many cities come reports of grumbling on the food queues: "The Jews are responsible for the shortages." Western travelers who were in Vilna during and immediately after a major economic trial in February 1962—where all eight accused were Jews, four of them receiving capital punishment and four lengthy prison terms—reported that the authorities mobilized the entire population to attend what was universally called the Jewish show trial. The atmosphere of fright in the Jewish communities may be imagined.

## VII

In sum, Soviet policy places the Jews in an inextricable vise. They are allowed neither to assimilate, nor live a full Jewish life, nor to emigrate (as many would wish) to Israel or any other place where they might live freely as Jews. The policy stems, in turn, from doctrinal contradictions abetted by traditional anti-Jewish sentiments. On the one hand, the authorities want the Jews to assimilate; on the other hand, they irrationally fear the full penetration of Soviet life which assimilation implies. So the Jews are formally recognized as a nationality, as a religious group, as equal citizens—but are at the same time deprived of their national and religious rights as a group, and of full equality as individuals.

Though the Jews are considered a Soviet nationality, official doctrine has consistently denied the existence of a historic Jewish people as an entity, and official practice has always sought to discourage Soviet Jews from feeling themselves members of that entity throughout the world.

Soviet policy as a whole, then, amounts to spiritual strangulation—the deprivation of Soviet Jewry's natural right to know the Jewish past and to participate in the Jewish present. And without a past and a present, the future is precarious indeed.

[From the Saturday Evening Post magazine, June 16, 1962]

**THE KREMLIN'S PERSECUTION OF JEWS—A FIRSTHAND REPORT ON THE NEWEST CAMPAIGN INSIDE RUSSIA TO STAMP OUT AN AGE-OLD RELIGION AND WAY OF LIFE**

(By Rowland Evans, Jr.)

It is now shockingly clear that the Kremlin is committed to a policy of trying to do what centuries of violent persecution of the Jews the world over have always failed to accomplish—eradicate the Jewishness of the almost 3 million Jews who live in the Soviet Union.

The technique being used is strikingly different from the historical methods of bloodbath, extermination and violence, methods that have been used in one country after another back almost to the genesis of time. The new method is infinitely subtle and varied, but its object is clear: To put an end to all the special qualities that, like a kind of cement, have bound the Jews together through the most rapacious persecutions in all history.

Although during the past couple of years a dozen or more Jews have been executed in the Soviet Union, this new campaign by the Kremlin has none of the marks of an organized pogrom of the type that used to sweep czarist Russia. It has nothing like the awful finality of Hitler's systematic murder of Jews by the millions. Its distinctive mark is the breaking down of morale, the slow strangulation of Jewish religion and culture, the steady erosion of all those special aspects of life that have meant so much to Jewish people.

I came upon much evidence of this campaign during a recent trip through Russia—evidence of a sudden, grim increase in official anti-Jewish activity. The evidence strongly indicated that denunciation of the cosmopolitanism and national narrowmindedness of Soviet Jews had advanced from the stage

of propaganda harassment to the deadly serious stage of secret trial and imprisonment. It is obviously quite impossible to tell—without jeopardizing my sources—precisely how this evidence came into my hands.

One important item of information, which I was able to document conclusively, concerned the arrest last fall, and the subsequent trial and 12-year prison sentence, of a leading Jewish layman named Gedalia R. Pechersky.

Pechersky had served as chairman of the Jewish religious community in Leningrad from shortly after Stalin's death until 1956, when he was demoted on orders of the Council of Religious Cults. Arrested with him late in 1961 were two other lay leaders of the Jewish religious community in Leningrad. Three additional arrests of prominent Jewish leaders in Moscow were confirmed about the same time. At the time I was in Russia no word of the action against these six religious leaders had seeped into the Soviet press.

Several months later, however, the Soviet Government reported the whole affair in an article in *Trud*, the Communist trade union paper. The article charged that Pechersky was part of a "Zionist espionage ring" centered in the Israel Embassy in Moscow. Further, it contained an ominous accusation that this espionage ring had contacts with our own Central Intelligence Agency and Western European agents who worked out of an obscure townhouse in Vienna.

Since then, it has also been established that the chairmen of the Jewish congregations in five other cities—Minsk, Vilnyus, Tashkent, Kiev, and Riga—have been deposed by orders of the Soviet Government and that synagogues have been locked up in a dozen other Soviet cities.

On May 16, 1959, Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize at a ceremony in Moscow, and among his remarks on this occasion was the following: "We treat the believers in religion not only with tolerance but also with respect. We wage a fight only when religion is used for bringing harm to man."

A glance at the Soviet press, particularly party newspapers in the distant provinces, makes a mockery of Mr. Khrushchev's use of the words "respect" and "tolerance." Consider, for example, a long, slanderous article in a recent issue of *Volzhskaia Kommuna*, a provincial organ published in Kuibyshev. Titled "Under the Synagogue Walls," the piece said in part:

"The traditions bolstered by the Kuibyshev synagogue are doubly harmful. First of all, they contribute to the perpetuation of the false religious world outlook. Secondly, they serve as an instrument for the propagation of bourgeois political views which are alien to us. And on the sly, a small group of rascals, playing on the religious and nationalistic feelings of backward people and violating Soviet law, exploit the synagogue as a source of easy profit."

**THREE BASIC ANTI-JEWISH THEMES**

Their you have it—three of the basic anti-Jewish themes in the campaign to subvert and destroy Judaism: First, the theme that the Jews are a vestige of bourgeois society of czarist times; second, that an umbilical cord of Jewish "chauvinism" ties the religious leaders of Judaism in Russia to the Jewish homeland in Israel; and third, that the life of the synagogues is shot through with graft and corruption, by which the Jewish leaders enrich themselves at the expense of the workers.

The false charge that Russian Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the Russian Motherland—and that this leads to subversive activities—occurs over and over again, but never with a shred of proof. The Soviet Government has a pathological fear and suspicion of Soviet Jews as a possible fifth col-

umn, and this fear is mirrored in the press of the Soviet republics where Jews live. The obvious fraud of this Soviet case against the Jews is that the number of practicing believers in Judaism is assumed to be less than 1 percent of the whole Soviet population, and this minute minority has never exhibited the slightest lack of patriotism. Soviet Jews fought and died bravely in World War II. Their skills and labor have been given without stint in the enormous job of postwar reconstruction and in moving the country ahead economically.

Jews are the 11th largest "nationality"—as the Kremlin insists upon calling them—in the Soviet Union. In the fifth paragraph of their internal passports (needed for travel around the country) they are required to list their nationality as "Jewish" in the same way that Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Kazakhs, and other minorities also must identify themselves by nationality. Since they are labeled officially as a distinct ethnic group, the Jews would presumably have the same ethnic and cultural rights—their own schools, for example, and their own press and a Yiddish theater—enjoyed by other minorities. But although each of these rights is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, the Jews enjoy none of them.

Until 1948 the Government permitted the Jews to have their own Yiddish newspapers and publishing houses. Scores of books and literary journals were printed in Yiddish. A popular Yiddish repertory theater had a large following. Schools and other cultural institutions existed in profusion. The Jew, in other words, was treated, if not as an equal, at least not as an outcast.

Soviet Jews also had something else which they treasured deeply—a sense of world fellowship with Jewish minorities outside the Soviet Union. Within rigid limits this fellowship encouraged contact with the outside world, and these contacts worried the Soviet Government. Until very recently the government has always gone to extreme lengths to minimize contacts between its citizens and foreigners, but the Jewish minority presented a special problem.

The international fellowship of Jews is one of the phenomena of world history—the tribes of Israel scattered to the four winds but never losing their sense of common identity, common traditions and supreme faith in their religion. Thus it was only natural that foreign Jews traveling through the Soviet Union would visit Jewish leaders—not to lay dark, subversive plots, but simply because all Jews have so much in common.

In 1948 the Soviet Government closed down all cultural manifestations of Jewishness. Theater, newspapers, periodicals, and books vanished. This move, by chance or not, coincided with the founding of the new State of Israel. Since then, only insignificant concessions have been made to the cultural life of the Jews. In the last 2 years five Yiddish classics (by authors long since dead) have been reprinted, and a few Yiddish variety shows and amateur theatrical troupes have been formed. Since September, a literary journal has been published every other month.

The slow strangulation of Jewish culture and art is one of the three main levers the Soviet Government is using to cut the hearth of Judaism. The second goes to the core of the religion itself.

Unlike other religions with substantial followings in the Soviet Union, the Jew are expressly forbidden to have a national association or federation of religious communities. This ban makes it impossible for them to build new synagogues or even to keep the old ones in good repair; to manufacture religious articles, such as prayer shawls; or to have a central clearinghouse to perform the essential functions of a national organization.

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No Hebrew Bible has been printed since 1917. And a prohibition on teaching the Hebrew language makes it extremely difficult for Jewish children to learn the traditional language and to understand and share in their religious prayers.

## ONLY ONE SEMINARY OPEN

Every Jewish seminary was closed down within a few years after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. In 1957, when the Khrushchev thaw was well underway, a single yeshiva, or seminary, was permitted to open in Moscow with a few more than 20 students. Last summer its director was fired by state religious authorities and replaced by a man apparently more acceptable to the Kremlin. This, the only training school in the Soviet Union for Jewish rabbis, has been stripped down to 12 students.

The third major line of attack on Soviet Jews is in some ways the most sinister of all. Along with the campaigns to liquidate their cultural traditions and circumscribe their religious practice, a vicious assault on individual Jews has become more intense in the past few months.

For generations a relatively large proportion of Russian Jews have made their livings in the mainstream of economic activity. A great many have earned their bread as bookkeepers, clerks, accountants, and small businessmen.

As the Soviet economy has moved from bare subsistence to a more advanced level, a vast gray market of illegal operations has injected itself into the economic lifestream of the state. There is no hard estimate of just how widespread the gray market has become in Russia, but the amount of gravy its deep and absorbent roots soak up has caused the most serious concern to the Soviet Government. What is involved is a massive diversion of all kinds of materials, with thousands of marketing, production, factory, construction, transport, and collective-farm officials getting a slice of the pie.

Someone, of course, has to juggle the figures to conceal these illegal transactions from the state, and that someone often turns out to be the accountant or clerk who keeps the books and who takes his orders from the factory managers and other senior members of the economic hierarchy. Many of these accountants and clerks are Jewish. Precisely because they are Jewish, they risk unlimited retaliation from their bosses—the managers who profit from the gray market—if they refuse to conceal the illegal transactions in their accounting books. The mere fact of their Jewishness makes them peculiarly vulnerable to pressure. And so some of them do cooperate.

The penetration of the gray market into all phases of the decentralized Soviet economy is now so deep that a full-scale exposé could have damaging international repercussions. Too many important people are engaged in it.

And so the Government has adopted the scapegoat cure for the disease of the gray market. And the scapegoat, it is becoming tragically clear, is likely to be the Jew with his special vulnerability. The state is turning its investigative and prosecuting powers on the Jew who clerks for the factory manager, who keeps the books for the collective farm or who does the accounting for the manager of the wool combine. Trials for thievery, speculation and other economic crimes are in full swing today, and the example serves as a warning for the real profiteers on the higher rungs of the economic ladder.

## THE KREMLIN'S SCAPEGOAT STRATEGY

Whether this scapegoat strategy is working the way the Kremlin intends is problematical. But one result is clear—it is pushing the Soviet Jew deeper into the pit of second-class citizenship, whether he is a Jew who practices his religion or one who long ago

left the synagogue. This means that many thousands of nonreligious Jews who want nothing more than the right to be counted as normal members of Soviet society are forced into a life apart, with special liabilities.

In the past 30 years the percentage of Jews in Soviet universities has steadily declined from 13 percent of the total enrollment to about 4 percent today. Jews have been removed in quite large numbers from high positions in the government, particularly in the diplomatic service and the army, although it must be said honestly that prominent exceptions remain. Only in science and technology, specialized fields in which Jews have always played an indispensable role, are Russian Jews really conspicuous today. As everyone knows, the Kremlin is committed to outpacing the United States in this vital area, and Jewish brains are one sacrifice the Soviet cannot afford.

Statistics give the cold outline of the plight of the Soviet Jew today, but to grasp the inner meaning in human terms, one must examine a house of worship after almost 45 years of systematic deprivations.

"I went with another American," an American Jew told me after a visit to the Moscow synagogue. "We took three Hebrew prayer books with us to give to the rabbi. When we arrived at the synagogue, I saw a large building, shabby and coated with grime. Underneath you could see the faded beauty of the old façade, but you needed your imagination to picture it as it once was.

"We heard the chanting of prayers inside. We went in. Maybe 40 people were there. Most of the men were old, and their prayer shawls were in shreds. When we found the head rabbi and showed him our siddurs, or prayer books, there was almost a riot.

"The rabbi, a bent little man, had to scream to make himself heard. 'These are Americans,' he shouted; 'act civilized.' But they hadn't seen a new siddur for quite some time, the rabbi told us. He showed us his prayer book, so tattered and thumbed you could scarcely read it. Soon several younger men—maybe they were Communists—came into the crowd and told the people to go back to their prayers.

"The whole thing lasted about 2 minutes. We suddenly knew that our presence was harmful. As we left, one of the worshipers ran by us and called in a low voice: 'Tell them in America it is bad for the Jews in Russia.'"

This experience probably could be repeated in any one of the 100-odd synagogues still in use in the Soviet Union. It should be added, however, that the persistence of the Jewish religion, despite repression through the centuries, is at least partly explained by the fact that formal worship can take place anywhere—in a cellar, a bedroom, a grocery store—provided a minyan consisting of 10 male Jews is present. In the absence of a rabbi, one member of the congregation can lead the service. Doubtless many such groups are keeping the religion alive in Russia today. Also, it is undoubtedly true that Hebrew is being taught to many Jewish youngsters, despite a government flat officially banning the language.

The question arises: Why doesn't the government permit Soviet Jews to leave the country and go to Israel, America, or somewhere else?

One reason is that emigration to Israel would infuriate the Arab world, of which Israel is the sworn enemy, Russia the pledged friend. Occasional public clashes with the Israeli Government help to advance Soviet policy in the Middle East.

But the Soviet refusal to permit any emigration at all of Soviet Jews has other explanations. The Soviet Government must know that it would be a shocking admission of failure, if, after 44 years of the socialist

paradise, tens, perhaps hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews should choose to leave their motherland for Israel or some other country. And finally, an exodus of Jews would diminish the Kremlin's power to exploit the Jew as a scapegoat or an example to the rest of Soviet society. As we have seen, the Jews are a useful tool to the Kremlin.

## WESTERN COMMUNISTS PROTEST

Nevertheless, emigration may eventually be permitted. The Soviet Government is embarrassed by the searchlight of world opinion on its discrimination against the Jews. Communist parties in several Western countries have already protested to the Soviets. The U.N. may investigate.

But all that is in the future. The irony of what is happening today is that as the Soviet Government tightens the screws on the Jewish minority, it is going out of its way to make life easier for the Russian Orthodox Church, and de-Stalinizing the rest of Soviet society. By our standards Russia remains a society hedged with insufferable restraints; yet, compared to the winter of Stalin's superpolice state, it is on the edge of springtime today.

The very act of admitting thousands of foreigners and of lowering some of the old barriers has increased the risk of infection from the West. Hence the clampdown on the Jewish religious leaders serves as a deliberate warning to the whole country against taking advantage of the Khrushchev thaw. For example, at precisely the time that Mr. Pechersky and his colleagues were being sent to jail last fall, the Kremlin looked on approvingly as the Russian Orthodox Church was voted in to the World Council of Churches. For the orthodox church, this new union opens an unprecedented vista of contact and collaboration with the outside world. But the example of Mr. Pechersky and his colleagues is a warning—don't go too far.

This is the heart of the tragedy for the Russian Jews today; that while Khrushchev renounces the terrible excesses of Stalin against all the people, one tiny minority is singled out for special abuse, an example and a scapegoat for everyone else. For most Russians, life is getting somewhat better. For the Jew, it is becoming intolerable.

Mr. KEATING subsequently said: Mr. President, anti-Semitism is again rearing its ugly head in the Soviet Union. The most recent atrocity is the Soviet condemnation to death of a Jewish rabbi for a so-called economic offense. Within the last 2 years, a total of 83 Jews have been executed for economic offenses out of more than 140 of them who have been condemned. While blatantly denying any religious prejudice, the Soviets underhandedly play up any economic crimes committed by Jewish people—and especially the rabbis. It seems quite obvious that the Soviet Union has singled out the more than 3 million Jews in Russia as a scapegoat.

Mr. President, another disturbing example of discrimination against the Jewish people in the Soviet Union is the deliberate violation by the Soviets of Jewish burial rites. Jews are buried in consecrated grounds and oftentimes the Soviets will bury people of other faiths in these grounds, which immediately deconsecrates the Jewish nature of the burial place. Even worse, on many occasions Jews are denied burial in the consecrated ground of Jewish cemeteries.

Mr. President, I have been in touch with Under Secretary of State Harri-

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man about this increasingly urgent and pressing problem. I was hoping that the United States would take the initiative to speak out against the continuing suppression of Jewish religious and cultural life, but as yet the United States has not seen fit to do so.

Mr. President, I am very proud to join so many of my colleagues with the distinguished Senator from Connecticut who introduced this resolution condemning the Soviet persecution of the Jews. The United States can no longer tolerate the situation now existing in the Soviet Union. I hope that this resolution will inspire the force of world opinion against this deliberate violation of the Jewish people.

Mr. JAVITS subsequently said: Mr. President, I wish to say a word about a resolution, with very extensive cosponsorship, submitted by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. The resolution is entitled "Resolution Condemning Soviet Persecution of Jews."

I deeply feel that the resolution deserves early action by the Senate. For more than 2 years I have called to the attention of the Senate recurrent instances of what can only be described as persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.

When I first went to the Soviet Union in December of 1961 I ran across the problem in the most marked way. I could get absolutely nothing out of the Soviet officials with respect to it. It will be remembered that the leading organizations of the Jewish people of the United States had their representatives talk with Mr. Khrushchev in 1959 and they were met with the blank statement that, "the Soviet Union has laws against anti-Semitism and there is none." That is the curtain of words which one gets on the situation constantly from the Russians.

On Monday I laid before the Senate the latest facts and figures on what is taking place in the Soviet Union, giving a clear indication that, apart from the suppression of cultural institutions, newspapers, synagogues, et cetera, which is bad enough in itself, and of the elimination of any opportunity for Jewish education in the Soviet Union within the past 2 years at least 83 Jews have been executed for alleged economic offenses out of a total of 140 who were executed in the Soviet Union for such offenses. Let us remember that at the most, Soviet Jews account for 1½ percent of the population. Here is a figure literally dripping with blood: 83 out of 140 of those executed for economic offenses were Jews, and the Jewish population of the Soviet is 1½ percent.

There is a great tradition in the Senate for denouncing actions of this barbaric and inhuman character. Even the idea that for an economic offense—that is, something relating to currency—even if, as we often do in the law, say "assuming it is so," we think that the punishment of execution for that kind of an alleged crime is barbaric, that in itself it is offensive to the morality of the entire civilized world.

This body has, since the turn of the century when there were programs in what was then czarist Russia, felt, in

good conscience, the need to denounce these outrages.

The resolution submitted by our colleague from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], joined in by so many Senators, including myself, it seems to me is greatly in the tradition of this body. It cries out for prompt action, in view of our tradition, in view of the case which has been made, and the absolute failure of the Soviet Union and all its officials to respond satisfactorily.

There are two other points I wish to make.

We all know from experience that the Soviet Union is not impervious to world opinion and to American opinion. What more authoritative expression of American opinion could there be than the adoption of this resolution by the Senate?

I am deeply gratified that a majority of Senators already have joined in support of the resolution. This is indicative of the nature of the American protest. The adoption of the resolution by considered action of the Senate would be even more emphatic.

Many Senators expressed their concern, during the debate on the nuclear test ban treaty, about a state of euphoria which might seize us or seize our country, and about the expectations which could not be realized in respect to relieving the tensions of the cold war. The adoption of the resolution is imperative, in the face of so manifest a grievance on the part of all civilized humanity against the Soviet Union, with its clear intimations of anti-Jewish action, confounding all the laws on the books of the Soviet Union. We face a wall of silence in respect of this dreadful situation—silence which cannot be penetrated within the Soviet Union by talking to Jews there, because they fear to speak. Silence resulted when I protested this matter in 1962 in the Soviet Union. A document, allegedly a letter, was issued. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point with my reply to it which appeared in the New York Times, June 2, 1962.

There being no objection, the documents were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OPEN LETTER FROM FIVE PROMINENT SOVIET  
JEW TO NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN)  
WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
May 11, 1962.

TO THE NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY:

The authors of this letter are Soviet Jews, of different ages and occupations. There are Communists and nonparty people among us. Each of us has chosen his own vocation. But we have decided to write jointly a letter to you in connection with the public statements of the American Senator JACOB JAVITS on the position of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

We are not going to enter into a debate with either Mr. JAVITS or any other person who has incorrect notions of our life, for people argue when there is a subject for argument. The truth about the life of the Jews in the Soviet Union needs no proof. We address our words to those who are really interested in our life.

We read with indignation the allegations in the Western press about an anti-Semitic campaign in the U.S.S.R. We declare before all the world: The Soviet Jews need no protectors or patrons. An objective observer cannot but admit that there is no Jewish

problem in the Soviet Union. We, Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality, constitute a part of the entire Soviet people. Our private and public interests coincide with the interests of all the Soviet people.

The Soviet state takes care of the Jewish population in the same way as it does Soviet citizens of any other nationality. Here are a few facts which confirm it:

According to the 1959 census, the population of the U.S.S.R. was 208,827,000. Of these 114,114,000 were Russians, 37,253,000 Ukrainians, 7,913,000 Byelorussians, 6,015,000 Uzbeks, 2,892,000 Georgians, 2,268,000 Jews.

In 1960-61 the U.S.S.R. had 2,395,545 undergraduates, including 1,479,520 Russians, 346,618 Ukrainians, 77,177 Jews, 63,720 Byelorussians, 53,530 Uzbeks, 48,461 Georgians, etc.

Is it possible to speak of discrimination against the Jews under such circumstances?

Furthermore, specialists with higher and secondary specialized education in the Soviet economy include: 5,509,000 Russians, 1,338,000 Ukrainians, 427,000 Jews, 257,000 Byelorussians, 155,000 Georgians.

Soviet scientific workers include 229,547 Russians, 35,426 Ukrainians, 33,529 Jews, 8,306 Georgians, 6,358 Byelorussians.

It may be added that the Jews make up 14.7 percent of all Soviet doctors, 8.5 percent writers and journalists, 10.4 percent jurists (procurators, judges, lawyers), 7 percent art workers (actors, musicians, artists, sculptors). The Jewish population of the U.S.S.R. constitutes 1.1 percent of the country's population.

The Jews take an active part not only in the development of the Soviet economy and culture but also in running the state. In 1961 the number of Jews elected deputies of the local organs of Soviet Government was 7,823. There are Jews among the deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, and other Soviet Union Republics, as well as of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet—Minister Venyamin Dymshits; Col. General Yakov Kreiser, hero of the Soviet Union; Rebecca Vishchinskina, collective farmer; Ilya Ehrenburg, author; Ilya Yagudin, collective farm chairman; Genrikh Zimanis, journalist; and Minister Ilya Velyavichus.

Many thousands of Jews hold key positions in the cities and in the provinces. This is quite natural, for in the Soviet conditions a man is valued for his capabilities, his attitude toward work and toward the interests of society, and not for his national origin, color, or language.

There is no inequality in the use of one or another language in the Soviet Union. The Jewish magazine *Sovetish Heimland* (Soviet Homeland) is published for that portion of Soviet Jews who speak Yiddish. The magazine is printed in 25,000 copies. Books by Jewish writers are published in large editions. In the past 7 years about 12 million copies of books by Soviet Jewish writers have been put out by various publishing houses. Various Jewish companies and individual performers appear on the concert stage and in the theater. Nearly half a million people attend their concerts every year.

As Nikita S. Khrushchev said at the 22d Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), "The party will further insure the free development of the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., without allowing any limitations, privileges or coercion for one or another language."

A few words on religion. The Jewish religion is not persecuted in the U.S.S.R. It is placed in the same conditions as the (Russian) Orthodox, Moslem, Catholic, or any other religion. Freedom of conscience is insured to all citizens by law. The fact that the number of believers is gradually decreasing should not be attributed to any sort of administrative measures. The explanation lies elsewhere; namely, that the materialist outlook prevails over the idealistic.



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At one time Sholem Aleichem dreamed: "The sun will rise over Russia, and better times will come." These times have come. It is precisely in the Soviet Union that our people, as all other peoples of the country, have found a true freedom and a true happiness. We must say that we value everything that the Soviet Government has done for us. It is well known that Hitler wanted to wipe our people off the face of the earth. He succeeded in killing a third of the world's Jewish population. Just think of what would have happened to us had it not been for the Soviet power. It cannot be forgotten that at the outbreak of the war, despite incredible difficulties, the organs of Soviet power made heroic efforts to save Soviet citizens, including many hundreds of thousands of Jewish families whose lives were threatened by the Fascist butchers.

We are living in the country which was the first in history to make the equality of all nations, races, and peoples the cornerstone of its national policy. There is not a people in the U.S.S.R. which enjoys privileges over any other people. As a matter of fact, no peoples look for such privileges in the U.S.S.R. The men of the older generation, who lived in Russia before the revolution, probably remember quite well how hard it was for the Jews under czarism. Even to judge by official statistics, only 30 out of every 100 Jews had independent earnings. The majority of the Jewish population were "men of air," in the apt description of Sholem Aleichem's. The Jews were squeezed within the tight borders of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic area. Now they live all over the vast territory of the country and in places where they were not allowed to live under czarism. About a million Jews live in the Russian Federation alone. They live where they want to and do what they like. The young people of Jewish nationality now cannot even imagine what the "Jewish pale" was like.

We are proud of our Soviet homeland and will not permit anyone to abuse it. We strongly resent the continual distortions in the Western press of the truth about the life of the Jews in the Soviet Union. What aim is pursued in this? For what reason do they slander us and our country?

We think that the people who disseminate all kinds of tales about "Soviet anti-Semitism" pursue but one aim: to worsen relations between nations, to divert the attention of the peoples from the fight for lessening international tension, to impede the establishment of friendly contacts and understanding between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and other countries. But it is well known that a lie has short legs. The truth will win out despite any intrigues of the knights of the cold war.

We ask you to distribute our letter widely.

Z. VENDROF, *Writer*,

Prof. BORIS EIDELMAN,  
*Master of Laws*,

LEV PULVER,

*People's Artist of the Russian Federation,  
Composer*,

Prof. IOSIF BRAGINSKY,  
*Editor in Chief of the Magazine the Peoples of Asia and Africa*,

Prof. ILYA STRASHUN,  
*Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences*.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, June 6, 1963]

SOVIET POLICY FOR JEWS—JAVITS CHALLENGES  
REPLY TO HIS CHARGE OF ANTI-SEMITISM  
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Times of May 13 reported at length on an open letter from five Soviet Jews purporting to answer charges I had made of anti-Jewish policies in the U.S.S.R.

No. 153—3

This reply presents statistics intended to show that Jews play an ostensibly prominent role in higher education, science and the professions and politics. Whether or not these statistics are accurate they do not tell the whole story.

The fact is that the proportion of Jews in all these areas has been declining for many years. The key to the decrease is the system of nationality quotas in university admissions where a policy has been in effect to decrease the proportion of Jews while increasing that of other nationalities.

The open letter itself reveals the extent of the decline. In higher education, for example, Jews today represent 3.1 percent of all university students. But in 1935 Jews represented 13.5 percent of all students. During this period Jews in the total population decreased only 1.6 to 1.1 percent. Similar patterns of discrimination appear when the statistics in other fields are examined.

The most vital weakness of the Soviet reply, however, is that it avoids the main point of my charges. The letter does not answer these material questions which I have raised:

#### QUESTIONS POSED

Why the crackdown on Jewish cultural life and the use of the Yiddish language, the language of Russian Jewry, as compared with different treatment for other Soviet minorities? Why the prominence and unique treatment in the Soviet press of Jews charged with crimes, particularly in currency speculation and black marketing? Why the linking of these crimes with the synagogue allegedly as a cover for them?

Why the charges that the synagogues are centers of subversive activities by Israel and its diplomatic representatives? Why the prohibition on so elementary a religious practice as the baking of matzoh at Passover—a prohibition never denied by the Soviet Government? Why all of these measures falling most heavily on Jews under the guise of a general antireligious campaign?

I am gratified that the Soviet Union has reacted to these inquiries—this is an excellent first step. But it needs to be pursued with fuller explanations and hopefully with remedial action. We have learned all too bitterly the dangers in taking the course of silence in such situations or of averting our eyes from them. Both the facts and the remedies are far more likely to result from inquiries and protests. There is every reason to continue such inquiries and protests regarding the condition of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

JACOB K. JAVITS,

*U.S. Senator From New York*.

Mr. JAVITS. They issued a letter subscribed to by Jews from various parts of the Soviet Union seeking to answer the points I made and the charges that a calculated and considered anti-Jewish policy was being pursued by the rulers in the Kremlin. All this together indicates what we face.

Action of this character—the most considered condemnation on the part of the whole world—can, we hope, help in some respect.

For all these reasons—and to counter exactly the idea that we have lost sight of the grave tensions in the world and the grave grievances which mankind has against the Soviet regime in the Kremlin—I ask that there be urgent action on the resolution. It is the kind of resolution which perhaps should be considered by a committee, but that is not absolutely essential. Senators may have various ideas as to language. The language is not critical. It is a sense res-

olution, expressing the conscience of the Senate and I am confident the conscience of the Nation.

It is a resolution which can be called up at any time by the leadership with or without a committee report, though I am hopeful it will have one promptly. I feel it is our bounden duty to act in this matter promptly.

If the resolution is not otherwise brought before the Senate—and I certainly hope it will by the leadership and by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]; and I certainly would join in any move to bring it up—though I hope it will not be necessary. If necessary, I will bring it up myself. It is high time that the Senate expressed itself on this festering sore which has been becoming more and more aggravated, and which, as I said a minute ago, in view of the executions, is now dripping with blood. It is high time that the Senate spoke out. This resolution gives us an opportunity to do so.

I am glad the Senator from Connecticut did what he did, and especially pleased that a majority of the Senate rallied to the resolution, which itself is a ringing condemnation of the actions of the Soviet Union—not its words, but its actions, which confound its words in this field.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. I congratulate the Senator for the statement he is making. I associate myself with it. I am one of the Senators who cosponsored the resolution submitted by the able Senator from Connecticut.

It is clear, as the Senator from New York has so well stated, that though we actually have no control over the kind of action going on in the Soviet Union, it is action which we as human beings, as members of the human race living under the conditions under which we live and adhering to the philosophies we have, greatly condemn and abhor.

I feel reasonably confident that the resolution, considering all the support which has been given to it and the feeling behind it on the part of all Members of this body, will shortly be made the business of the Senate. It will be approved, I am certain, overwhelmingly by the Senate.

Along with others, I appreciate the action of the Senator from New York in bringing this matter, which is of such great concern, to the attention of all who love freedom and who believe in the dignity of human beings, no matter where they are. I am sure all Senators are grateful to the Senator from New York for calling this subject to our attention.

Mr. JAVITS. I am grateful to the Senator from Florida. His assurance, coming as it does from one who is in the leadership on the majority side, is most gratifying.

Mr. President, so that the RECORD may be complete—I am not acquainted as yet with exactly what the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] put in the RECORD—I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD a statement as to

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the "sense" resolutions protesting acts of inhumanity and breaches of religious freedom adopted by the Senate of the United States on previous occasions, so that Senators can see what we all know to be the fact, that the resolution is in the deep and abiding tradition, a very distinguished and honorable and most creditable tradition, of the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A partial list of resolutions adopted by the Congress condemning persecution of Jews in Russia includes those in 1879, 1892, 1906, and 1911; one condemning persecution by Nazi Germany was adopted in 1934. Among other resolutions are those protesting persecution of the Armenian people, the abduction of Greek children and in 1956 discrimination by Saudi Arabia against American Jews.

Mr. HARTKE subsequently said: Mr. President, from time to time, we Americans are offered advice from abroad on how to conduct ourselves and our affairs. The Soviet Union sometimes has joined in giving us advice, especially on the treatment of individual citizens by other individuals.

Of course, we are not perfect. And it comes in poor grace for the Soviets to pretend concern for the treatment of some of our people when their country is a police state with no regard at all for the rights of individuals.

In this country, the full force of the U.S. Government is dedicated to the preservation of full constitutional rights for all citizens. Whatever discrimination or bias may be practiced in this country, the official position of the United States is in opposition to it. Our courts are the bulwark of the freedom and liberty of each American.

In the Soviet Union, however, the courts are a principal agent of bias and discrimination and often are used to strip citizens of whatever freedom they might have. In recent months these courts have been used to take life from Russians seemingly because they are guilty of being leaders of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

Trumped-up charges have been used to put to death Jewish leaders, among them rabbis, all under the guise of justice. All this smacks of genocide as practiced by Hitler and his stooges not so long ago and now condemned by all the civilized world, including Russia and the official Government of Germany.

I am pleased to join the distinguished junior Senator from Connecticut in his move to express our shock and disapproval over these new acts of terror against the Jewish people. It is all the more horrible in that these pogroms are being perpetrated among the Jewish community leaders during the Holy Season of these people who have suffered so much.

#### AMENDMENT TO H.R. 3369— CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], and the minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], I send to the desk

an amendment to the bill (H.R. 3369) for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth G. Mason.

The amendment would extend the Civil Rights Act of 1957, as amended, for 1 year with no change in powers and no change in the structure. It is a simple extension for 1 year. I have discussed the amendment with the distinguished minority leader and with the acting majority leader, the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. It would be our intention to call up the amendment tomorrow, because the Civil Rights Commission would expire on September 30. We would like to get this over tomorrow. Perhaps—and I am not asking the acting majority leader if he concurs—we shall have to set aside temporarily the bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for 1964 in order to take up that bill and the amendment.

The amendment has been discussed with other Senators who might be interested.

Mr. SMATHERS. Would it be the intention of the Senator from Minnesota to call up the bill immediately after the morning hour as the first order of business?

Mr. HUMPHREY. That would be the intention, and all Senators should be so informed. Is that agreeable with the minority leader?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table.

#### WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT— ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the senior Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] may be added as a cosponsor of S. 649, the Water Pollution Control Act, at the next printing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM IN SENATE CHAMBER—ADDITIONAL TIME FOR SENATE RESOLUTION 202 TO REMAIN AT DESK

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senate Resolution 202, to authorize the installation of a public address system in the Senate Chamber, which I submitted yesterday, be permitted to remain at the desk until the close of business 1 week from today for further sponsors.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. EDMONDSON:  
Address delivered by James G. Patton, of the National Farmers Union, at the Farmer-Labor Conference in Henryetta, Okla., on September 2, 1963.

#### AN IDEA FOR "SPACE PROPAGANDA"

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, recently, the Sperry Utah Co. of the Sperry Rand Corp. was occupied with a study of the potential benefits derived from the implementation of an "emergency detection system for manned space vehicles."

In the course of this study, the company's principal engineer, Mr. Frank Ballard, developed a patriotic idea which I consider of exceptional merit.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Ballard's suggestion be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STUDY MEMORANDUM

##### INTRODUCTION

During the course of a Sperry Utah Co. study to develop an emergency detection system for use in manned space vehicles, an idea for "space propaganda" was conceived. In reality it was not an original idea, but rather a countermeasure against the Soviet propaganda machine. Basically, the idea is to make use of the U.S. space program documenting it on U.S. postage stamps as a means to identify and enhance our prestige abroad. This can be accomplished through the use of a popular mass media of communication which today goes on relatively unused; the U.S. postage stamp. It has become increasingly evident from a brief survey of foreign stamps in circulation and identified in the Scott stamp catalog, that the Soviets are using postage stamps as a means to propagandize a Soviet identity with space successes and thus create an effective prestige profile as the leader in the space race.

The United States has published only two postage stamps associated with the space program during the past 12 years. The first issue was in 1948 on the occasion of the Fort Bliss centennial and it depicts an ungainly rocket similar to the German V-2. The second stamp was issued in 1962 on the occasion of the John Glenn Mercury flight. This stamp had a limited circulation and is no longer available at any post office. Furthermore, most commemorative stamps honoring special events such as space flights, Alliance for Progress, etc., have limited printing and, for the most part, end up as a collectors' item.

By comparison the Soviets have issued approximately 10 postage stamps identifying sputniks, atomic disarmament and other space successes. In addition, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany have published at least eight stamps lauding the Soviet space program. The United States generally publishes anywhere from 5 to 15 stamps annually, generally depicting an uninteresting historical event in terms of contemporary national and international interests. Whether we like it or not, the United States is engaged in a battle for survival with the Soviet Union. At the moment it is a cold war with each side striving for political or propaganda advantage. A propaganda advantage could decide whether it becomes a "hot war."

I merely wish to emphasize at this point that propaganda on an immense scale is here to stay and we Americans must become informed and adept in its use, both defensively and offensively or we may find the free world in a state of confusion and losing confidence in our ability to maintain leadership in the free world.

In the face of the existing world struggle, it is imperative, even urgent, that we utilize all available media of communication to advertise the forces of democracy. The U.S. "stamp lag" is self-evident. We must